

THE STORY OF NORMAN THOMAS

THE WORLD TOMORROW

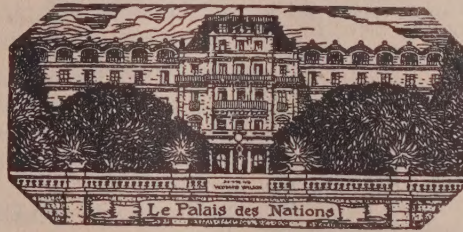
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No. 6



Pacific School of
Religion
Berkeley, Calif.

Whither The League ?

The Next Ten Years

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

Changing the Status Quo

RUDOLF BRODA

The Aggressor Delusion

DEVERE ALLEN

THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.
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The World Tomorrow

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Who's Who in This Issue

Raymond Leslie Buell is research director of the Foreign Policy Association.

Israel Newman is a new contributor to THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Kenneth W. Porter has published verse in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, *Commonweal*, *The Christian Century*, *New Masses*, and other periodicals.

Rudolf Broda, formerly lecturer at the College Libre des Sciences Sociales in Paris, is now associate professor of social science at Antioch College.

Elias Lieberman is a well-known educator and the author of several volumes of verse, short stories, and essays.

H. D. Hill contributes to the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines.

Henry T. Volkening is a young journalist and world traveler.

Pier D. Aldershof, a graduate of the University of Iowa, is at present studying at the Biblical Seminary in New York.

Mary A. Hurd is a senior at Wells College.

Nathan Fine is director of the Labor Research Department of Rand School in New York.

Helen Everett is an economist and co-author of *The British Coal Dilemma*.

Elizabeth Webb is radio secretary for the League of Women Voters.

H. C. Engelbrecht is history editor of *Social Science Abstracts*.

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EDITORS

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Editorials

MacDonald and Gandhi

To see a government headed by Ramsay MacDonald sanctioning the imprisonment of Gandhi is not a particularly heartening experience. The reason given for this action is that while Gandhi disavows the use of violence he is unable to restrain his followers from its use and must therefore be held responsible for actions which he does not condone but which his campaign of disobedience makes inevitable. Obviously a specious argument. The government in India exists by force and will use its force against any kind of independence campaign which threatens to succeed. Gandhi was not molested at the beginning because there was no immediate prospect of success for his cause; nor could the government be certain that his arrest might not fan the flames of revolt. But as his campaign won increasing support among the masses, his imprisonment became increasingly imminent. A government which does not rest upon the consent of the governed has no other recourse but the use of violence to maintain its power.

In justice to the British, however, it must be said that Gandhi is not as completely the leader of the Indian independence movement as appears on the surface. The moderates and liberals still hope to gain dominion status by negotiation with the British government. The Mohammedans seem to be more indifferent to Gandhi's leadership than in his previous venture and there is a left wing in the nationalist movement which is less amenable to Gandhi's influence and more intent upon violent methods than in 1920. In fact, there is reason to believe that the plans of this latter group forced the Mahatma into the present campaign, even though he might personally have been willing to continue further negotiations on the round table plan of the government. The British government therefore has some right to insist that capitulation before the nationalist movement would result in complete chaos in India. There is no guarantee that Gandhi's group could integrate the vast mass of India's population into an ordered political life.

However, such reasoning hardly gets at the root of the problem. It is easy enough to realize that the Labour government is not in position to give India complete independence and might justly hesitate to take such a step if it had the power to do so. But that does not explain why Britain has not made a single move which would give the Indian nationalists some reason to repose greater confidence in the Labour government than its predecessors. It committed itself to the Simon Commission before its advent into power, a mistake for which it must now pay dearly since its hands are tied by this commitment. It has pledged dominion status to India, but has refused to enlarge upon this offer in such a way as to quiet the suspicions of the Indians that this is simply a meaningless gesture, the fulfillment of which might be indefinitely postponed as the American promise of independence to the Philippines has been postponed. It has failed to make any real concessions that might have been used by the moderates in India to dissuade the more revolutionary groups from immediate action.

The fact of the matter is that the Labour government is compromising with imperial interests in a manner that renders it liable to the charge of political opportunism and dishonesty. Either because it finds the possession of office too sweet to risk its loss in a stronger stand on India or because it is bargaining with middle-class England for a clear majority in the next parliament, it is playing truant to its own professed principles. It is no easy matter to steer a party, committed to the ideal of socialism achieved by parliamentary methods, through those difficult years in which it must hold power by the sufferance of other parties. But no one can fail to note that Labour is in danger not only of frittering away its own moral authority but of destroying the confidence of the underprivileged world in the efficacy of parliamentary socialism. If the party continues in its present course, compromising with imperial interests (for which its course with Egypt offers evidence as disquieting as its Indian policy), it may end as a liberal group standing only

slightly to the left of the old Liberal party and facing opposition from new and more radical labor forces. Failing such a re-orientation, it may nevertheless lose the chance of coming into power by losing the confidence of the labor world without in turn winning that of the middle-class world. Parliamentary socialism is hanging in the balance in England. Not only India but the whole western world has a large stake in the policies to be pursued in the next few months. If the British Labour party continues to play the old imperial game with only such slight modifications that they are hardly perceptible, it will do the gravest injury to every political interest based upon the faith that modern society can reorganize its life without resorting to violence and without subjecting a complex industrial world to social convulsions.

Will the Peace Movement Move?

"All the world," said President Hoover to those sterling champions of peace, the D. A. R., "needs relief from the burdens of armies and navies, but disarmament cannot be made to contribute to peace unless it is conducted by agreement among nations, for by that method alone can we allay fear and preserve security." This is a very smug and comforting dogma to anyone largely responsible for the failure of a *bona fide* arms reduction; but it is a dogma which has scant justification either in historical precedent or social psychology. If any lesson at all can be learned from history (and sometimes we doubt it when we listen to official spokesmen declaiming the same trite phrases which have cursed mankind for hundreds of years), it is the lesson that disarmament by agreement is an elusive will-o-the-wisp, a treacherous lure that has led so-called statesmen into the bogs of disillusionment time and again and contributed heavily toward the perpetuation of warfare. And if anything is clear from the normal reaction of social groups, it is this: that there is only one thing more likely to precipitate the test of combat than gross inequality in power, and that is a fancied absolute equality.

Having failed through several generations of pious peace work to accomplish anything worthy of mention toward arms reduction by the old tactics of disarmament by agreement, it is high time that the peace agencies drop their efforts to follow official leading, and strike out boldly and realistically for disarmament by example. Disarmament, to our minds, is not a *summum bonum* of the peace crusade; but it is of great importance psychologically and the fight must be waged without ceasing. Also, it must be waged with a certain amount of intelligent originality and vigor, and carried straight to the ranks of the enemy.

Disarmament by agreement means inevitably that the world must wait for the advance of the slowest countries. As one of our British contemporaries forcibly puts it, "To say that we will disarm *when* others disarm, is also to say by inference that we will not disarm *until* others disarm." Immediately any effort is made to disarm by agreement, a multitude of technical difficulties enwrap proceedings and the whole effort is converted into a rehearsal of warfare.

The behavior of the peace organizations from now on will be an acid test of their independence of officialdom, their genuine realism, their willingness to sacrifice respectability. We hope that they will stoutly combat both the extravaganzas of parity and the folly of general simultaneous disarmament, and assert their readiness to pay a price for peace. Let not the shibboleth of "effectiveness" be raised against an adventurous program. Looking the record in the face, the peace societies can ill afford to rest a halting policy on that basis. In the long run it is truth, and truth alone, that can bring us out with victory.

The President and the Supreme Court

Gradually the American people are beginning to realize the importance of the Supreme Court. With a written and inflexible Constitution and a Supreme Court only slightly amenable to the popular will, it is no easy matter for a nation to adjust its political life to the new facts of an industrial civilization. The only thing which can prevent a conflict between such a tribunal as the Supreme Court and the pressure of our new age is a very considerable degree of understanding and insight on the part of the jurists who sit on our highest court. A group of talmudic scholars, intent upon applying the letter of the law to situations which the law obviously did not envisage will sooner or later raise a grave political issue in the United States. Imaginative jurists, on the other hand, who know how to interpret legal tradition so that it will help to solve contemporary economic and political situations, and not hinder the kind of experimentation with social control which the vast collectivities of our modern life make inevitable, can be of great service to the nation in the next decade.

It is for this reason that the Senate, which is at present the only effective organ of liberalism in our Federal Government, does well to scrutinize closely the Presidential appointments to the Supreme Court. So far it has had no great success to crown its efforts. Hughes is on the Court, and in rejecting Parker, the Senate succeeded merely in eliminating a candidate who was not only illiberal but obviously not of the mental caliber to deserve the appointment. Owen Roberts will hardly add effective strength to the liberal minority on the bench. The simple fact is that the veto power of

the Senate is not enough to guarantee liberal appointments to the bench under a President who seems to have forgotten most of the liberalism which he once professed and who, in his appointments, seems to be influenced chiefly by the conservative eastern groups in his party. With few exceptions, Hoover's appointments have been either quite bad or thoroughly second-rate.

The more intimately we become acquainted with our President the less do we relish the prospects of the coming years. We thought for a while that intelligence in the White House would be a pleasant relief after the mediocrity of the Coolidge regime. But of what use is intelligence when, upon most major issues, it is made subservient to the baldest kind of political opportunism? If present tendencies continue, the moral deterioration of a President in whom the lust for power negates every good intention may yet become a tragic theme for future historians.

Economists on the Tariff

It is hardly probable that the President will give any great consideration to or be guided by the tariff views of the thousand odd economists who recently expressed their opinion, in a carefully worded statement, that the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill would work injustice upon a majority of the citizens of our nation and would seriously complicate the problem of our relationship to the foreign world. There is every indication that he will veto the bill if it carries the export debenture clause, voted by the Senate, and that nothing else will elicit the Presidential veto. One might imagine that the argument of the economists that a higher tariff will work havoc in the long run on our export trade would strike a sympathetic chord in the Presidential mind. His experience as Secretary of Commerce gave him a special interest in export trade, and there are indications that he would very much prefer a lower tariff than the one he will sign. But there are no indications that he will have the courage to veto the tariff bill against the wishes of the powerful interests which support it.

It will be a long time before we have a clearer case of crass class legislation than this tariff bill confronting the American people. If prosperity had continued, they would probably have swallowed this new invasion of their financial security. There is a possibility that in their present chastened mood they will be less patient with this kind of politics. If the President were an astute statesman, he might read the handwriting on the wall and veto the bill. But there is no proof that he is a statesman. His alleged respect for the opinions of experts might save him from a serious political misstep; but when experts disagree with the country's overlords, he will probably follow the latter.

The trouble is that the President is an expert recently turned politician. Fearing that the politicians might scorn him as an expert or as an ex-expert, he will play obvious politics and discover too late that that is bad politics.

Pertinax Speaks the Truth

"You are supposed to be omnipotent and recently you had only to file a request to get from proud England a 50 per cent share in the imperium of the seas. You have imposed upon the whole of Europe the Covenant of the League of Nations. . . . Under your influence the occupation of the Ruhr was scrapped and the Dawes plan, followed by the Young plan, made a substitute for it. . . . You are more than any other factor the cause of political Europe as it stands today. However, when provision has to be made for the defense of what is largely your handiwork you decline responsibility. Such interference when severed from responsibility cannot go on forever. Either you will accept some kind of responsibility for the advice you give or, in the long run, little heed will be paid to the advice."

The foregoing words were spoken by André Geraud, better known as "Pertinax," editorial writer of the *Echo de Paris*. We are not sure that we agree with all their implications. If we remember correctly, it was European rather than American influence which stopped France's ill-advised adventure in the Ruhr. But the general import of these remarks, spoken before the editors assembled in Washington, is true and, what is more important, represents Europe's idea of the truth. We are not sure that Geraud's final brave words of defiance mean very much. If resentment against international irresponsibility could have prompted European nations to disregard our advice, they would have done so long before this date. The fact is that you cannot afford to disregard the words and opinions of a money-lender as rich as America. Nevertheless, resentment may rise until it overcomes ordinary prudence, and European resentment against the peculiar combination of American economic power and political irresponsibility is certainly rising.

Criminal Treatment of Criminals

The callous indifference of the Ohio prison authorities to the fate of the three hundred convicts who perished in the prison fire at Columbus, as evidenced by their willingness to sacrifice the lives of the men rather than risk a jailbreak and their brutal suppression of the rebellion subsequent to the fire, is just one more vivid illustration of the sorry state into which our penal institutions have fallen and the mental and moral bankruptcy of most of our prison officials. With all the knowledge that modern psychiatric science offers

us, we still conduct our prisons as if we lived in the eleventh rather than the twentieth century. It is only with the greatest difficulty that society achieves the imagination to recognize the rights of prisoners as members of society. Prompted by primitive vindictiveness, the community usually casts the offender into outer darkness and imagines itself generous if it permits him to maintain his life under the most oppressive conditions.

Here are a few random prison facts picked from a recent report: In Arizona 50 per cent of the prisoners are idle. In the Nevada prison there is almost complete lack of employment. Conditions in the Idaho penitentiary violate almost every principle of penology that we have learned in the last two hundred years. In New Mexico, contrary to modern custom, prisoners are not permitted the use of knives and forks in the mess hall. The Oregon prison is overcrowded and there is neither employment nor educational program. The Washington prison has 25 per cent idleness and an educational program affecting only a small number of the prisoners.

So the tale runs from state to state. Overcrowding is almost universal. Poor food is general. Methods of punishment are frequently brutal and violate every known penological principle. More than casual interest on the part of good citizens will be required to rescue our prisons from their medievalism.

Support the Griffin Bill!

Steadily the list lengthens of those who have applied for citizenship in the United States, only to be denied because they can not conscientiously kill in war. The views of these would-be citizens vary, extending all the way from Dr. MacIntosh of Yale, who would fight in wars he considered just, to a recent candidate who would not fight but would gladly lecture on behalf of war. We do not anticipate any great national shortage of native sons ready to lecture in almost any conflict, and we hold no especial regard for the last young man's position. However, with rare exceptions the pacific applicants for citizenship have been of extraordinarily high character and intelligence. In a rational society they would be welcomed, while those ready to kill in war would be looked upon as suspect.

Representative Anthony Griffin of New York has introduced an important bill into Congress, designed to shift the naturalization laws so as to admit pacifists. The amendment would read: "Except that no person mentally, morally, and otherwise qualified shall be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes." We think this wording might

be improved to include not only "lawfulness" (by which is meant, presumably, moral lawfulness) but "righteousness," and "social utility." In any case, however, a working Griffin Bill Committee has been organized with headquarters at 112 East 19th Street, New York City, and we hope our readers will back Representative Griffin most earnestly in his very courageous and significant measure. They should procure copies of the Bill, and the recent hearings, and should bring individual and group pressure to bear on Washington, the only place through which, in this particular instance, relief can be obtained from an intolerable bigotry.

Those Pacific Boy Scouts

Again and again, to all protests, the heads of the Boy Scout movement have stoutly asserted the neutrality of their organization on peace and war. The jamboree in England last year was hailed as proof that militarism in the organization was only fancied.

It is an undeniable fact, however, that a great deal seems to depend on local leadership rather than on the national office. One has only to read the rotogravure sections of the newspapers to see that in many a place efforts have been made, deliberately and successfully, to align the Boy Scouts with the preparedness forces and to instil a definitely military ideal. For example, one paper prints a view of some Boy Scouts beside the tomb of the unknown soldier, and appends this caption: "In Memory of Those Who Preceded Them in Defense of Their Country." Another picture shows a cup being awarded a Scout troop by an army lieutenant. That compendium called *Military and Naval America* lists the Boy Scouts as a "semi-military organization," along with the National Rifle Association, cadet corps, etc., which are "instilling a love of country and the flag and a willingness to fight for them if need be."

The *Boy Scout Handbook* (page 16) declares: "He [any Scout] should so learn to discipline and control himself that he will have no thought but to obey the orders of his officers." The *Handbook for Scoutmasters* states that "Scout drill is founded on the infantry drill of the United States Army." By an Act of Congress the Scouts are permitted to wear "uniforms similar to those worn by the United States army, navy and marine corps." The annual report of the Boy Scouts is a government document, printed at public expense, pursuant to an act of 1915, a year when the preparedness drive was at its height. In some places Boy Scouts have taken part in sham battles, and in countless localities have been reviewed by military officers. Permission for army officers to act as scoutmasters was granted, upon receipt of a request from Boy Scout headquarters.

When the Veterans of Foreign Wars recently held a big parade in New York to celebrate not the 100th but the 108th anniversary of the birth of General Grant, the line of march was reviewed by ranking army and navy officials. In line were fifteen veterans' organizations, patriotic societies, detachments of soldiers, sailors, and marines from nearby stations, the Columbus Volunteers, the Junior Naval Guard, and the Boy Scouts.

It may be that this is not the military spirit. We think it is. We think it is militarism. Is it a settled policy, or is there a chance to work for the new world of peace among the boys organized in the Scouts—to work for it positively, unashamedly, heartily in the open, with indubitable pacific intent?

Wanted: A Fight Committee

Modern History, written by Professors Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker Thomas Moon of Columbia University, was recently stricken from the list of approved texts and thus banned from New York City schools. An Episcopal rector had charged that it was radical, anti-patriotic, and Catholic. Without a public hearing and despite many protests, action was taken against the book. The sections objected to have for a long time been generally accepted and taught by historians, though it is easy to see that one with a sheltered religious or economic background would hardly acknowledge this.

This New York incident—which is repeated frequently throughout the land—makes one wonder whether university teachers will ever learn to fight for their rights? The American Historical Association, though large in numbers, has apparently little interest in and certainly no organized committee to handle cases in which its members' rights are grossly violated. The Association of American University Professors has an active committee, but thus far it has appeared on the scene only when the fighting is safely over. So far as their members' rights are concerned—before school boards, publishing houses, autocratic university officials and trustees, and state legislatures—these associations act merely as burial societies. How long will this go on? How long will they continue to let their members stand alone against powerful political or academic groups and merely decorate their urns after cremation? Isn't it time for a real "fight committee"?

Nationality Rights for Women

We have not agreed entirely with the campaign for sex equality before the law carried on so vigorously by the National Women's Party. To us it has seemed no more of a handicap or a reflection on women to pass welfare legislation, in general, than

to discriminate in such legislation between different individuals and sections of the male sex. There is no such thing as equality within the sexes, and no absolute equality between them, and to legislate as if there were is to ignore reality in human life.

However, in the battle that these women have so staunchly waged for equal nationality rights with men under the law of nations we are with them heart and soul. If their pressure upon the delegates seeking to formulate a world code at The Hague was unpleasant, verily, to lapse into the vernacular, the delegates had it coming to them. At the present time the laws of nationality discriminate outrageously against women and make of them little but puppets. For example, if an American woman marries a citizen of a foreign country and lives abroad, she loses her citizenship, and, as Mrs. Harvey Wiley recently pointed out, if her children are born abroad they are not American citizens unless they are illegitimate. It is a preposterous hangover from barbarism to make a woman only the echo to her husband's citizenship status, and in a multitude of ways the present situation is intolerable. Happily, our United States delegation has refused to sign the code as formulated, and a drive on Congress is being prepared, to obtain full nationality rights for American women at home and abroad.

New Party Progress

At its first annual meeting held in Washington, D. C., in mid-May, the League for Independent Political Action announced that at the end of nine months with an established office, it numbers more than 2,500 dues-paying members. A mood of vigor and realism was apparent in the rank and file at the conference, and found reflection in the speakers, among them John Dewey, James H. Maurer, Helen Everett, Oswald Garrison Villard, Howard Y. Williams, A. J. Muste, and Paul H. Douglas. Professor Dewey, who was re-elected chairman of the National Committee, declared that the "morticians are now engaged in the hopeless task of trying to make the Republican and Democratic parties appear alive, when as a matter of fact funeral services are in order."

While the League by no means underestimates the difficulty of its task, the response from all quarters of the country has exceeded the expectations of many when the enterprise was launched. A new political alignment will come, and it may come sooner than we think. As a perennial failure, the Democratic party is a huge success; while the present Republican Administration is certainly hooverizing on achievement. People will turn, eventually, to follow a constructive program, a policy which is essentially "the repudiation of drift."

The Next Ten Years of the League

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

IT is impossible to forecast what the immediate future of the League of Nations will be. One may, however, summarize the problems which the League must solve during the next ten years, if it is to progress as it has in the past. There is not a chance in the world that the League will disappear during the coming decade. The only question of the future is whether the League is to remain what it is now—a useful addendum to international life, or whether it is to become a vital dominating international force.

During its first ten years the League has been more concerned with establishing its right to exist than in finding concrete solutions for the problems that still vex the world. It has created a remarkable conference system, based upon the solid fact-finding work of the Secretariat, the studies of technical organizations, and finally the meetings of diplomats. This conference method, which in its present form was unknown before the World War, has brought into existence among the statesmen of about 54 countries a conference habit of mind. The fruits of this conference habit of mind may not yet have ripened; the important thing is that the seed has been sown.

As a matter of fact, this seed has already borne fruit in so far as a system for the pacific settlement of disputes is concerned. Thus the League has brought about the establishment of the World Court; today every important League member in Europe, except Poland, has signed the optional clause providing for the obligatory arbitration of legal disputes. Non-legal disputes must be referred to the League Council or to local conciliation commissions for investigation and report. Under the original Covenant parties to a dispute before the Council under certain circumstances regained their freedom of action. Nevertheless the General Act drawn up at the 1928 Assembly provides that all disputes which are not sent to the World Court should go to conciliation commissions. And in case the parties do not reach an agreement after the report of such a commission, the dispute shall be brought before an arbitral tribunal. In other words, the General Act is an attempt to extend into the field of non-legal disputes the principle of arbitration. With the ratification of the General Act and the acceptance of the recent report of the committee on embodying the anti-war pact in the covenant, an air-tight system for the pacific settlement of all disputes will have been devised.

The question that is lurking in the minds of many people, however, is whether or not the League system will bear up under the strain which may be imposed at

any time by a major dispute between two great powers. Despite the effort of the League in establishing these international courts, despite its remarkably valuable work along humanitarian lines, the truth of the matter is that the League has not yet brought "security" to the world; it has not brought about disarmament. The fact that nations today insist upon spending more for armaments than they did before the World War shows that they live in fear of attack, that they do not trust their safety as yet to League machinery. The task of the League of Nations during the next ten years is to bring a feeling of security and mutual trust into the world—a feeling which will be inevitably reflected in the drastic reduction of armaments.

The League is already at work at this task. And its work takes two directions: one attempts to establish a system of international sanctions upon which states may rely for defense in case of aggressive attack; the other attempts to remove the underlying political and economic difficulties which cause so many international disputes.

There is a school of thought both in England and America which argues that the League sanctions repose upon an unsound principle—the principle of force. But this school fails to distinguish between private war—the use of force by a nation to prosecute certain ends, regardless of law—and ordinary police power which is the servant of law. The only nation which can logically argue against international police is the nation which maintains no defense force of its own. If it is logical for one nation to rely upon its own army and navy for protection, why is it illogical for nations to rely upon the police force of a world community? If a single state can depend for its defense upon such a force, it can afford to disarm, whereas if it were forced to rely upon its own resources, it could not disarm out of fear of being exposed to attack.

ACCCEPTING the validity of the principle of sanctions, many nations are nevertheless reluctant to pledge themselves to use force in defense of another country as long as they are uncertain whether or not the conduct of the nation attacked has been in accordance with a recognized standard of international justice. For example, Japan would be reluctant to come to the aid of Rumania in case Russia attempted to re-establish its authority over Bessarabia simply because Rumania has no very clear title from an ethical standpoint to Bessarabian territory. Until the underlying causes of war are removed or at least better un-

derstood, it is improbable that the League will succeed in strengthening the principle of sanctions. When such causes are removed, the desire of certain nations for international sanctions will decline, while on the other hand the present objections of other nations to committing themselves to sanctions will be softened.

The task of the League during the next ten years therefore is to remove the underlying causes of war. Such causes may be found today in Europe; they may also be found in the extra-European world. So far as Europe is concerned, the disputes of the future are likely to concern (1) boundaries, (2) minorities, (3) economic questions such as the tariff, reparations, and interallied debts. Is there any hope that the League will solve or help solve any of these issues?

AT the present time there are about 15 disputed frontiers in Europe. These include Danzig, the Eastern Frontier, Upper Silesia, the Saar, Vilna, Memel, Bessarabia, Macedonia, the Hungarian frontiers, and the Austrian Tyrol. The League has no power to change any of these boundary lines without the consent of the parties to the treaties defining them. Nevertheless, Article XIX of the Covenant states that the Assembly may from time to time "advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world." Thus any member of the League—and at present some of the most active members are the former Central Powers—may raise the question whether or not a given frontier as defined in the Treaty of Versailles or of Neuilly or of Trianon should not be changed. And the Assembly, after hearing a debate on the subject, may give an opinion, apparently by a majority vote. Before arriving at such an opinion, it is possible that the Assembly will ask a committee of experts to inquire into the question whether or not a given boundary is unjust. The final opinion of the Assembly would not force a government to surrender a given territory; and yet an opinion arrived at after careful deliberation would have a tremendous moral effect.

The future development of the League will depend very much upon its willingness to put Article XIX to the test. To date this article has been invoked only twice, the last time being at the 1929 Assembly. At present it must be confessed, the important League members, such as France and the new states of Europe, are most reluctant to see Article XIX made use of. These states were strong enough at the last Assembly to defeat the request of China for the creation of a committee to study how Article XIX might be applied. France and her allies feel that any relinquishment of territory ceded by the 1919 treaties may be the beginning of a movement to overthrow the whole peace

settlement. This fear can be removed if the League shows that it is animated purely by a desire to rectify crying injustices. Once such injustices are rectified, the fears of states involved in these boundary issues are certain to decline and their feeling of security to be increased.

The minorities problem of Europe is closely connected with the question of boundaries. Despite the guarantee given by the treaties of 1919, minorities in many states of Europe today are subject to oppression which is a cause of international ill-will. This persecution largely reflects the attitude of the central governments. When Rome and Vienna are on good terms, the mistreatment of the Germans in the Tyrol declines—and vice versa. But as long as difficulties over boundaries remain, a government will inevitably feel that the minority within its borders is plotting to secure the return of the disputed territory to the "home country." The disappearance of this political fear will inevitably mean a decline in the mistreatment of minorities. The League can do something by increasing the inquisitorial powers of the League Council. But there are limits to which outside supervision can go. The fundamental task is in improving the political relationship of the peoples involved.

The present unrest which now pervades Europe because of boundary and minority disputes will also decline if the League succeeds in removing the obstacles to international economic development. There is no doubt that the reparation and inter-allied debt settlement is a burden which hangs over the entire world. Although Germany may be able to raise the taxes to meet this burden, it is doubtful whether she can buy the necessary foreign exchange to transfer payments to allied governments as long as these governments and the United States retain their present tariff barriers. The reparation and debt problems have been handled so far without any direct intervention of the League. But the problem of lowering tariff barriers is one which can be solved apparently only at Geneva. A beginning was made in March, 1930, with a tariff conference. As a result of this conference 11 European states agreed to a tariff truce, subject to certain reservations, until March 1931. Although this is a hesitating step, it is a beginning which may lead to the eventual reduction of European tariff barriers, and which may be the first step toward an economic United States of Europe. It is doubtful whether during the next ten years M. Briand's dream of federation will go beyond this economic stage—i. e., the gradual reduction in tariffs.

IMPORTANT as are these European problems, the next ten years will probably see the development of even more serious situations in the extra-European world. What rôle will the League play in

preventing armed clashes in the colonial world? In the first place, it can insist upon good government in colonial areas; in the second place, it can assist struggling nations to secure or at the least maintain their independence. The Mandates Commission of the League already has a degree of supervision over 17,000,000 peoples formerly under German and Turkish rule. During the last decade the Mandates Commission has followed a cautious policy; it did nothing to prevent the revolts in Syria and in Palestine. If it is to justify its existence during the next ten years, the Mandates Commission must demonstrate more courage than it has shown in the past in insisting upon the application of the doctrine of trusteeship. The mandates should become unquestionably the outstanding examples of model colonial rule. As such they will have an indirect but nevertheless fundamental influence upon colonial administration elsewhere. It is not too much to hope, moreover, that colonies proper may be subjected during the next ten years to some form of international control. A beginning is being made in the international treaty against forced labor to be drafted by the international labor conference this June.

As far as the second development is concerned, the League can make sure that mandatory rule in Syria and Iraq at least is aimed at giving the people of these mandates independence. It should make sure that these people secure their independence when in the judgment of disinterested observers they deserve it. Moreover, the League can help these states, once independent, in the problem of defense from outside attack simply by receiving them into League membership and by extending to them League guarantees. Similarly the League may help such states in establishing a stable internal administration by providing them with advisers, and with the same kind of financial and other aid which it has already brought to the new states of Europe.

There is no room to speculate upon countless other possibilities for the next ten years. There is the whole problem of collective recognition and of collective intervention, the control of international trusts and finance, the allocation of raw material, the codification of international law, the internationalization of such waterways as the Suez and Panama Canals. It is doubtful, however, that the League will tackle any of these problems until after it has worked out a *modus vivendi* with two great states which remain aloof from Geneva today—Russia and the United States. The failure of these two states to cooperate fully with the League is bound to warp the development of an international society. No one may forecast the future policy of Soviet Russia. But there are many reasons to believe that the United States is daily becoming more sympathetic to the League. It is possible that the failure of the London conference will set back this

rapprochement. Nevertheless, when the American people learn that real disarmament can be secured only after the establishment of a genuine international organization, it is probable they will come to believe that fuller cooperation with the League is a matter of self-interest. One of the most important steps toward cooperation and one which could be taken perhaps without any express authorization of the Senate would be the appointment of an American ambassador to Geneva.

On No-Man's Land

THROUGH those tense months along these hills
Earth was its own dark self again:
Austere and ownerless and dumb,
With meanings never known to men.

What ploughed its curves was not the share—
Craters not furrows, row on row—
What seeds rained down on those bleak lumps
Were not the seeds that peasants sow.

And be these acres peat or clay,
And be they gravel, rock, or sand,
What fruit may grow for men to reap
From seeds thus sown on no-man's land?

ISRAEL NEWMAN

Arlington Cemetery

IN Arlington the soldiers rest
Each in his narrow place.
By careful plan it is they lie
Thus, to reserve a space
For other heroes who will die
In wars which come apace.

In Arlington the heroes lie.
The heavy turf is pressed
To lock from gay or grizzled sky
Each once aspiring breast,
A well-hewn stone upon the face
Which cannot now protest.

In Arlington the corpses lie.
Young boys, the cannon-slaves
Of some shrewd future battle-cry—
Revenge, Defense, Democracy—
Regard with unsuspecting eye
The sod of their own graves.

KENNETH W. PORTER

The League and the Status Quo

RUDOLF BRODA

IS it useful to overcome war without replacing certain of its functions by new devices? Will not guarantees of peace, based on the *status quo*, lead to permanent enslavement of oppressed nationalities? Will they not prevent rising nations from attaining their places in the sun? Will they not slow up international progress and inaugurate a too-conservative period of human development?

It may rightly be argued that the pressing problem today is prevention of a new world war which might destroy civilization. But the solution of more far-reaching questions has to be sought today, the more so because the advantages and disadvantages of peace are not valued the same way by the different nations. While a vast popular majority in the United States and Great Britain is in general undoubtedly ready to vote for peace, the decision in Germany, for example, would depend on party lines, with the left parties giving greater emphasis to peace, and the right agitating for change.

It is extremely important for guaranteeing world peace that all nations be persuaded to keep it *voluntarily*. The cause of peace itself would be greatly advanced if methods could be devised whereby everybody would be satisfied.

The only institution to which we can reasonably turn for guarantees to *protect peace* and for *devices of peaceful change* is the League of Nations. This article will be devoted to an examination of the question whether the League today can do justice to these two tasks, or whether fundamental changes are necessary to enable it to fulfill its role.

I.

THE Covenant of the League of Nations provides for efficient machinery to settle disputes between nations. There lies one of its great advantages over the Kellogg Pact, which pledges the nations to settle disputes "by peaceful means only" but offers no machinery for doing so.

1. The World Court of the League of Nations has proved to be a reliable instrument for settlement of *legal* disputes. The conference for codification of three important points of international law which was sitting at The Hague has disappointed many hopes but will be followed by more successful endeavors. One sphere of law to be codified refers to the responsibility of states for injury foreigners suffer on their territory. Clearer rules on this point will remove certain disagreements from the sphere of popular pas-

sion and indicate the Court as the obvious authority to settle them.

Ratification of the Optional Clause by Great Britain and the other leading powers (under way at the present moment) will give the Court compulsory jurisdiction over all such legal disputes and reduce to a minimum any danger of war resulting from such controversies.

2. The procedure for peaceful settlement of *political* disputes through inquiry by the Council of the League of Nations is less well-organized. Unanimous decisions are needed and may be unobtainable in times of acute crisis. But the recent suggestions of the Committee of Experts, appointed by the Council for bringing the Covenant into harmony with the Kellogg Pact, imply elimination of the right to war, even in the case that unanimity cannot be reached for a material decision on the merits of a political conflict.

SO far, so good. But it would be better if the recent French proposal in favor of *majority* decisions of the Council were accepted; or else if the provisions of the Geneva Protocol of 1924 in favor of arbitration of such political disputes on which the Council has not reached a unanimous decision were adopted. Either of these two suggestions would allow clarification of the political atmosphere by definitely settling disputes.

3. The Covenant seems to provide also for useful devices to enforce decisions of the competent authorities. Nations legitimately hesitate to offer armed force to crush a disturbance of peace; the Covenant therefore provides for a less bloody procedure—mere blockade of an aggressor nation. The threat of such a blockade would undoubtedly be sufficient to prevent aggression and to guarantee obedience to awards by competent authorities, *if there were no outside interference*. It would be perfectly sufficient so far as this point is concerned, for the United States to pursue a sincere and complete policy of isolation, abstaining from any participation in world moves for world security, but abstaining also from any attempt to destroy or impair League weapons.

The resolution moved by Senator Capper not to deliver munitions to an aggressor nation, while silent on foodstuffs, implies the most logical method for avoiding, so far as possible, interference with a League blockade. But even the resolutions, moved by other members of Congress, that no munitions

should be delivered to *any belligerent*, without going at all into the question of guilt, would seem to satisfy the essential need for reducing the probability of clashes between the United States and the League of Nations. But none of these resolutions has been acted upon. The Senate seems inclined to insist on "freedom of the seas," interpreted as freedom to deliver foodstuffs or even munitions to both belligerents, irrespective of the moral merits of their case. This policy leads straight to open conflict between the forces of the League of Nations, blockading the aggressor on the one hand, and the United States (its public opinion, its government, and its navy) on the other.

IT has been argued that the United States, on its own account and without any previous obligation, would abstain from delivering munitions to an aggressor nation; unfortunately there is no assurance that this would be the case. An embargo against a belligerent, if pronounced without previously incurred legal obligations, could rightly be interpreted by the belligerent, which thereby suffers, as an "unfriendly, un-neutral act." The United States would probably hesitate to commit it. But even if it went ahead, it would certainly insist on freedom of food ships, as President Hoover has expressly advocated. But freedom of food ships would involve interference with the fleets of the League of Nations maintaining the blockade. There are many materials on the borderline between munitions and articles needed for the peaceful population: the so-called "conditional contraband" of traditional sea law. Interpretation of these complicated provisions has in the past led to many wars. The League of Nations could not risk such friction with the United States, could not undertake a blockade, could not punish an aggressor. The potential aggressors, knowing all that, sure or at least hopeful of "getting away" with aggression, might be induced to commit it. Their potential opponents cannot feel safe, and are accordingly not ready to renounce their defensive armaments. These, of course, are the reasons for the present attitude of France against naval reductions.

Matters would be different if the United States agreed at least to consult with other nations in case of threatened war. Its authorities would thereby get the same evidence other nations receive, and that evidence would probably lead to American measures parallel to those of the League of Nations. But the United States hesitated to agree to such consultation, although France went so far as to offer as a price the substantial reduction of her naval demands, implying indirectly substantial economies for the American taxpayer.

The economic weapon of the League of Nations

does not, therefore, offer absolute guarantees against aggression.

There remains financial assistance to an attacked nation, as considered by the decisions of the last Assembly. There remains also direct military assistance on land, which lies outside of all possibilities of American interference. But the members of the League of Nations, while ready in some instances to guarantee aid to their immediate neighbors, are reluctant to promise help to distant states, where their immediate interests are less involved. Great Britain has promised assistance against any warlike move on the western frontiers of Germany, but refused that assistance against disturbance on the eastern frontiers of Germany or in the Mediterranean.

THIS differentiation shows a possible way out. The uniform provisions of the Covenant which are in line with the fiction of equality of all sovereign states and equal obligations of all toward all do not work in practice. Nations are not ready to risk their own interests for the sake of the moral advantages of world peace. Their altruism decreases with the number of miles which separate them from the focus of the threatening conflagration. They have learned the lesson that their neighbors' disorder is hazardous to themselves, but they are not yet convinced that disorders in remote parts of the earth have the same tangible importance. Neither do they really care for coöperation with distant nations in order to accomplish lofty tasks which do not touch their own immediate interests, although they appreciate fully the importance of coöperating with their next-door neighbors.

The establishment of continental confederations inside the League of Nations would remedy the situation. The members of the United States of Europe might agree on mutual military assistance, on abolition of customs barriers within the federation, and particularly on such supervision of minority rights as would decrease the tangible hardships of frontiers traced without consent of all the nationalities concerned. The urge for changing these frontiers would thereby be reduced. This continental confederation could coöperate with other continental confederations or with distant single states for the solution of world problems. The existing Councils of the League of Nations could be used for that purpose.

Even the United States might perhaps be induced to take part in such a loose confederation which would involve none of the concrete and detailed duties of a close union of neighbors, imply no shadow of an obligation for mutual assistance either by military or other means.

There is still another avenue of approach: The League of Nations itself could become the inner

circle, with close coöperation for solution of many concrete tasks and effective mutual assistance for the preservation of peace. But there would be a wider concentric circle, embracing the League of Nations, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other outsiders which have declined to accept the Covenant but have consented to sign the Kellogg Pact and which have collaborated for some years with certain endeavors of the League of Nations to further economic and humanitarian purposes. This looser but more universal league could stick to its provisions of non-aggression, stipulated in the Kellogg Pact, without accepting obligations for mutual assistance. The only other requirement would imply the promise not to interfere with domestic measures of the League of Nations which were adopted in order to guarantee peace inside its borders, and not to insist on an interpretation of freedom of the seas which would prevent the League of Nations from accomplishing its peace-preserving duties.

II.

THERE remains the other danger referred to at the beginning of this article: a too-conservative period of human history might be inaugurated by stabilization of the *status quo*.

It is true that the League of Nations does not, like the Holy Alliance, give guarantees to governments against revolts by their own subjects or by subject nationalities. But Article 10 of the Covenant offers such guarantees to governments against outside help for their dissatisfied subjects. History shows that oppressed nationalities have seldom freed themselves by their own force alone. They succeeded by means of outside aid—the Cubans with American help, the Bulgarians with Russian help, the Italians with French help. If such assistance from without is excluded, oppressed nationalities lose their main chance of salvation and may be condemned to permanent slavery; or, again, great passions may wreck the barriers erected by the League and war break out after all.

Consequently, it seems imperative that the League develop peaceful devices for the liberation of oppressed nationalities, for the reconsideration of obsolete treaties, for a better distribution of colonies among nations able to settle them, and for general progressive reconstruction of world affairs. The most urgent point is the satisfaction of oppressed nationalities. Greater freedom for the Council of the League of Nations in supervising protection of minorities, and more efficient applications of such supervision is undoubtedly a first and important step. The right of the League to change boundaries, in conformity with the self-determination of peoples, by duly supervised plebiscites, is a step more remote but probably also indispensable.

Development of Article 19 for reconsideration of treaties is likewise imperative. The Socialist Party of the United States was well-advised when insisting on such a development as extremely important for the future of the League of Nations and as greatly facilitating whole-hearted support of the League by American public opinion.

SUCH devices for the peaceful accomplishment of changes that in the past have only been effected by armed conflict would do away with the warlike spirit of nations which want to free their oppressed racial brethren (Germany, Hungary) and even of nations which want a redistribution of the earth in conformity with pressure of population (Italy and Japan). They would prefer peaceful reconstruction without the bloody price of war, if peaceful reconstruction were placed inside the range of possibilities. Dangers of war could be greatly reduced by such enlargement of the powers of the League of Nations; world progress would also be served in a broad way. It may be objected that the loose federation of today is not strong enough to undertake such far-reaching measures. The objection is probably well-founded. It will be necessary greatly to strengthen the powers of the League of Nations at the expense of the fetish of national sovereignty; to transform the League into a true federation of nations, endowed with constitutional prerogatives patterned after those of the federal authorities of Germany or the United States, although not quite so great.

The unanimity rule stands in the way of all energetic measures necessary for breaking resistance. But sovereign states consider all decisions taken by their delegates as treaties necessitating unanimous agreement, and would feel humiliated if forced to submit to majority decisions by their peers in matters affecting essential aspirations of their peoples. Creation of a world parliament or election of the Assembly by national parliaments, with proportional representation of the different political parties, would greatly help in that respect. Majority decisions, where international parties would stand against international parties, and not countries against countries, would seem perfectly natural. Generous emotions and a sincere concern for mankind's interests could develop in the World Parliament. The importance of frontiers would decrease. The force of resistance exercised by vested interests of sovereign states would diminish; conditions could be adapted to changing needs.

It would probably be too difficult to obtain consent of nations of the "outer circle" for such an integration of the federation, for such intimate coöperation. There would be no chance to obtain American consent. But the nations of the inner circle, particularly

those of Europe, are more and more convinced that they must federate or perish.

Such a development would not only render peace more secure but would also facilitate the organization of progress. Propagation of this program of action is the main task of the League for the Organization of Progress, to which the writer of these lines has devoted his life.

THIS outlook may seem too broad—too utopian. Practical politicians may prefer policies of shorter range. But possibilities and difficulties are so interwoven that limited measures encounter definite obstacles which prevent their success. Full reconstruction might decrease resistances.

We do not hold that all parts of this reconstruction must or will take place simultaneously. One development only is conceivable but not desirable which may lead to such general reconstruction: a new world war culminating in a world-wide revolution carrying world-minded Socialism to power; or else awakening the courage of despair for other radical moves. The price to be paid in blood and misery would be too

great. Excluding that avenue, we must look toward slow evolution.

The next steps would necessitate a more intimate American and Russian collaboration with the constructive efforts of the League of Nations, and perhaps some guarantees for non-interference with League measures that promote security within its own borders.

The following would then imply greater integration of the League of Nations, either inside its present boundaries or restricted to the United States of Europe: the constitutional basis for the two ways of coöperation—inner and outer circle—would finally need to be harmonized; the Kellogg Pact and the Covenant would become constitutional provisions of the same world federation, one stipulating the less strict duties of all, and the other the stricter duties of the inner group.

Although the twentieth century may pass before further developments can take place, in a more distant future the phenomena of the gradual tightening of federal bonds which we have observed in the German, Swiss, and American federations may be repeated, and all nations of the earth come to a gradual acceptance of the duties and privileges of intimate coöperation.

The Slippery Aggressor

DEVERE ALLEN

I

THE future of world organization is wrapped up in the question of security; and the question of security, alas, is still wrapped up in the attempt to define an aggressor nation. It is high time the wrappings were removed.

This aggressor delusion lay at the heart of the London naval conference. It haunted the halls at Geneva where jurists tried to harmonize League and Pact. While the Covenant does not use the term "aggressor nation," it does provide definitely for the invocation, by the Supreme Council, of economic and military sanctions to be hurled against a nation guilty of breaking its League commitments. How far a League signatory is obligated to respond to such a call is a moot point, and one which has not yet been satisfactorily settled, though the preponderance of opinion leans toward the view that every country when thus summoned may decide for itself (if it dares) how far it will participate in a punitive campaign. Since the War, on almost every page of diplomatic history, is cast the grim shadow of some conceivable aggressor, stalking secretly the peaceable countries of the earth—that is, of course, all countries.

There is nothing really new about the efforts made

in our time to stigmatize a nation which fails to live up to its agreements or its pledges to keep the peace. Through most of the projects for peace based on union of states which were promulgated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ran essentially the same ideas. Even the plan for a universal peace of Europe formulated by the pacific William Penn provided for an international parliament to try "a differences depending between one sovereign and another that cannot be made up by private embassies, and stated that if any nation refused to submit to verdict, the other nations, "united as one strength should "compel the submission and performance of the sentence."

The peace movement here and abroad has always shown a great preoccupation with this problem. "You get rid of aggression," said Lord Robert Cecil on his visit to the United States, "you get rid of war." The same sentiment was voiced by Noah Worcester, an American pioneer of peace, as far back as 1811. "As soon as offensive wars shall cease, defensive war will, of course, be unknown." "If offensive war can be prevented," declared William Ellery Channing, "defensive war will of course be superseded." There are, however, not a few flaws in this plausibly si-

ple reasoning. The truth was charmingly stated by a Confederate apologist of the last mid-century, the Honorable James Williams, who wrote down naively about his own cause the justification used for all good wars and true: "As for a war of aggression, we will never wage it except in self-defense."

Increasingly clear has it become with every new peace compact, every new effort to reduce land or sea forces, every session of the League that deals with stern realities, that the search for an aggressor is far from simple. To define aggression with genuine realism is only a trifle less difficult for statesmen than it is for the proverbial blind man in a dark room to see a black cat that isn't there.

II

NO uniformly reliable definition of an aggressor nation is possible. Until recently, efforts to supply a definition branded as an aggressor an invading nation. But invasion, or even a declaration of war, does not necessarily warrant the allocation of all guilt to the nation taking the initiative. Wars are not isolated phenomena; they originate in policies, usually a culmination of cumulative reprisals, the true origins of which are often impossible to ascertain.

It is policy that warrants condemnation often as much as an open state of war. By policy, sometimes without actual combat as much injustice, as much cruelty, may be inflicted as in warfare. Hallam, in his *Constitutional History of England*, was aware of just such influences of policy when he pointed out that the aggressor in war is not the first that uses force, but the first who renders force necessary." We can quarrel with the reasoning behind his apology for warfare, but granted warfare as allowable on any terms, is thought strikes deep in its practical considerations.

The picture of an aggressor as one which outrages territorial taboos dodges the patent fact that nations today do not reside behind impassable walls. Frontiers are readily traversible; given a border with mobilized forces drawn up on either side, it is often impossible to fix responsibility for an invasion followed by conflict. As a matter of sheer fact, it is not only impossible at the time, but frequently impossible forever.

THE violation of demilitarized zones, the commission of a so-called overt act, the violation of treaties—these are often put forward as bases for the determination of an aggressor. Most cases falling in these categories are either territorial or closely related because they involve sacred property. Certain instances they would undoubtedly fit, at least in some conceivable wars; but they apply too seldom to constitute a safe basis for the selection of a guilty nation against which other nations ought to turn their ostracism

if not their joint forces. The weakness of these tests becomes apparent when their practical operation is frankly faced.

The demilitarization of land areas may accomplish much to ease the tension between suspicious possessors of contiguous territory. Article 9 of the rejected Geneva protocol provided that a violation of the rules governing a demilitarized zone should be deemed tantamount to a resort to war. When the actual existing demilitarized zones are examined concretely, however, it will be seen that usually they are territories for which, despite economic importance, hardly any nation would be willing to risk a war. If a war for some larger purpose were undertaken, however, they would almost certainly be fought over for military or naval considerations. The aid given to a peaceable mood by these unfortified areas, such as Luxembourg, the shores of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, our far Pacific islands, et cetera, should not be minimized. Yet it is sheer folly to believe that if a war policy is decided on, any nation involved in the non-militarization of such zones would feel obligated to respect them.

And who by objective criteria can define an overt act? Nations sometimes go to war about an act which they label as overt, and sometimes fail to go to war. An overt act, if defined practically on the basis of experience, is simply a hostile act which will not be tolerated. Sometimes it is cleverly provoked. Where the line is drawn depends, actually, only on circumstances, public opinion, or other unrevealed governmental desiderata. As a test by which to determine the aggressor the overt act criterion is all but worthless.

Numberless treaties have been broken without the consequence of war. The treaty of 1778 between the United States and France, by which this country was to become an ally in any "defensive" war, was violated when England and France joined battle. Our refusal to give France even non-military aid was based on the ground that although England had started the ball rolling by expelling the French ambassador, France had really provoked the war.

IS it sensible or prudent to stigmatize every breach of a treaty as an act of aggression? Bear in mind what, according to Professor Sterling Edmunds, treaties really are: "So long, however, as fraud and violence are permissible factors in the conclusion of treaties; so long as mere superior power and the threat of its use are legitimate instrumentalities in exacting submission to the harshest terms, it is absurd to speak of 'the faith of treaties'; many of them, in fact, deserve no more to be fulfilled than a promise

extorted from an innocent pedestrian by a nocturnal highwayman."¹

Even here, the relation is close between non-fortification and policy, between overt acts and policy, between treaty-observance and policy. Nor are territorial considerations as simple as they seem to those who assign all war guilt by the moral arbitrament of acreage. Nations seldom fight to protect their soil as such from invasion; most of the wars that have torn the human race apart are never fought "in defense of hearth and home." What we fight for is well stated by *The World's Work* for April, 1927: "With our trade spread throughout the world and the world's gold in our pockets, it is more essential than ever that we should have our military establishment prepared not only for the protection of our interests in case of war between the other powers, but also for protection against aggression by other powers or groups of powers."

No, we do not fight to protect our land, our homes, our loved ones, our ideals. We fight to defend our national interest; and our national interest knows no bounds save those of interplanetary space.

III

IN recent years an attempt has been made to define an aggressor differently. Early in 1928, sixty persons of prominence in public affairs published the following definition of aggression: "The aggressor nation in war is the nation that, having failed to settle the dispute by conference, conciliation, arbitration, appeal to judicial procedure or other peaceful means, initiates an attempt to settle it by war."

This proposal goes back to the pre-War League to Enforce Peace, from which Woodrow Wilson derived his ideas in favor of military sanctions. This organization in 1915 declared for diplomatic and economic pressure against any nation joining in an international peace agreement that "threatens war against a fellow signatory without first having submitted its dispute for international inquiry, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial hearing." If this kind of pressure proved unavailing, then the nations would use their joint military forces against the aggressor "if it actually goes to war, or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories."

The same plan underlies the Locarno treaties, which define aggression essentially as the unwillingness to arbitrate.

Far superior to any territorial tests is this method. Its emphasis on peaceful settlement is woven into the very agreements to be made, and as the world's peace machinery continues to take form, and arbitration becomes a simpler, more accustomed procedure, a

method accepted with understanding by the peoples and not confined to the mercies of a handful of legal and governmental minds, there may legitimately be high hope that the threat of war-to-end-war implicit in the arrangement would rarely if ever be needed.

And yet even this attempt to define an aggressor is for the present almost as futile as the definition grounded on invasion. It is based on the fallacious anticipation of a single "aggressor." The unpleasant truth is that certain important nations are still bound by balance-of-power alliances and commitments, carried on despite the League. All Europe, it is hardly too much to say, is chained by a network of treaties and "defensive" agreements, some known and probably some as yet unknown, most of them executed by members of the League in direct violation of its spirit and some in contradiction to the letter. Such, to cite one example, is the political-military treaty consummated in secret by France, Poland and Rumania, against Hungary, Russia, Germany and Bulgaria, and revealed by accident in 1926. *The Manchester Guardian* stated, coincidentally with the treaty's publication, "Of all the four possible enemies named, three are fellow-members of the League of Nations, one a fellow-member of the Council, and statesmen of Warsaw and Bucharest calmly envisage the likelihood of a sudden attack being made by any or all of them."

IN any future war, at least as far as Europe is concerned, it will be harder than before to limit the conflict to hostilities between two countries only. There will not be one "aggressor," but a group of "aggressors," acting with full common knowledge. Try to settle, if you will, who will be the aggressor on the theory of only two involved powers! Especially when the body to decide aggression is the Supreme Council.

Section 7 of Article XV of the Covenant tells how the Council will perform this task: "If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice." What that action will be in any important emergency, unless disarmament proceeds with great rapidity, unless the policy of regional defensive-offensive alliances is speedily foregone, unless there is soon apparent a more unselfish economic spirit than manifest hitherto, does not require a far flight of imagination.

IV

UNDERLYING the reasons adduced thus far against the proposals for defining an aggressor is the fact that aggression depends less on whom than on what. Various, all of the plans for the definition

¹ *The Lawless Law of Nations*, by Sterling E. Edmunds, p. 187.

of an aggressor nation rely upon such phrases as "a country *going to war* without submitting its case to arbitration"; or "a country commencing *hostilities*"; or "a country *making an attack*." None of these schemes, however, define adequately what truly constitutes an attack, or hostilities, or going to war.

Does mobilization fall under these heads? If it does, it is entirely outside the strict limits of the definition. If it does not, what person who knows anything whatever about modern wars and their beginnings will venture to say in every case precisely where mobilization ends and war commences? Let the reader for himself lay hold of the material now available on the origins of the World War and chart the precise points at which each of the nations actually "began hostilities," "went to war," or "started an attack"! He will have at least as many different points charted as there were participating nations, from the assassination of the Archduke by Serbian nationalists to the secret agreement between Italy and the Allies.

THE distinction between aggression and defense, in terms of war, is as ethereal as it is arbitrary. There can be no defensive warfare or "war for law" without aggression. The military experts know this well. Yet in actual practice and in military theory the weakness of reprisal has always been understood as against the sharp, swift first seizure of the offensive.

The late Rear Admiral Mahan exercised a tremendous influence on world public opinion relative to the importance of sea power, and furthered a number of significant naval policies. Among his contributions to United States naval progress, according to a Navy booklet issued in 1927, was "the abandonment of a strictly defensive naval policy."

Consider the War Department's Training Regulations on the subject, dated September 3, 1921: "The object to be attained by training is to enable the Army to wage offensive warfare. While training must cover certain phases of defensive doctrine and police doctrine, the Army must definitely understand that these are only means to the definite end—offensive warfare—and every individual in the military service must be imbued with the spirit of the offensive."

FROM the military point of view, safety lies not in waiting for a definition of an aggressor, nor even the rallying of world opinion. Safety in the military sense, which is the sense that still dominates the powers that are manifestly unwilling to disarm, consists in being capable of striking the first blow, of gaining that terrifically superior advantage that comes from sending your own national fleet of poison-carrying airplanes winging over your enemy's cities before his planes have struck and crippled your centers of

communication, your morale, and your means of effective reprisal. And it must not be forgotten that in these speedy modern days, declarations of war are far less formal, and actually far less common, than they used to be. We may not have the "two-hour war" imagined by Stuart Chase, but we shall certainly have war, if we do not stall it off by something more than legal definitions, which will be swift, decisive, and concentrated into an incredibly short period of combat.

National armies will work, so long as we have them, on this principle. If war we are to wage, this is the only intelligent way of waging it, and a joint punitive war of *reprisal*, if modern inventions continue to develop, will soon become only a mythical possibility. He who strikes first strikes last. And while an international police force might in time assume a different role, it must still be able to count on prompt, ruthless victory, an outcome impossible save by the use of unhesitating offensive tactics. And it cannot be denied that any international police force, resting upon the corollary of nations disarmed to the point of helplessness, is by no means the least fantastic of present possibilities.

V

THE obvious conclusion is that too much reliance must not be placed on legalistic war preventives. They are essential and their development should be encouraged. But it matters greatly whether security from war is attempted in a negative way, by the mere imposition of restrictions, or by a positive system and method, whereby peaceful policies are allowed to flower. It would be possible, all in the name of peace, to build up an international instrumentality for the maintenance of the *status quo*, the net result of which would assuredly be war. Here is the crux of the question. Can the League and the Pact supplement each other, can peace machinery function, not alone in prohibitory legal phraseology, but in actual influence on national policies—armament programs, imperialist expansion, the treatment of racial, religious, and linguistic minorities, and similar issues? Here is the one place where an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure; indeed, here is the place where a cure by the legalistic procedure, relying on force sanctions, is all but certain death—to peace, and even to the League.

In the general eagerness to prepare a guillotine for an aggressor lurks the same fatal shortsightedness with which society treats wrongdoers. The fear of punishment is an inadequate deterrent; there is no positive contribution to social progress in fear of any kind from any reason. It is worthy of note that certain nations, like Denmark, which still are content to live comparatively disarmed on the slopes of the European war volcano, are showing restive concern over their safety and their responsibilities under the proposals to

protect the peace by threats of drastic punishment against a national evil-doer. The processes of justice are no less susceptible to error, to say the least, in the affairs of nations than in the dealings of individuals.

In the long run, the race between war and peace will be decided by public opinion. The public may be a phantom, as Walter Lippmann contends, but phantoms notoriously wield a terrific veto power even when they can hardly be said to formulate detailed constructive action. Popular viewpoints to be sure can be created by official propaganda; but usually because in the beginning there was an insufficient nucleus of alert and disciplined opposition. Far down in those human sources of world history where lie the intangibles which seldom make the headlines of textbooks but which nevertheless subtly regulate the pace of conspicuous men, must be implanted an uncompromising will to peace. As many a practical situation proves, there is no deterrent in the same class with the sheer unwillingness of a people to fight. Again and again governments have passed discreetly over serious incidents in certain domestic conditions while trivial disappointments in different circumstances evoked a truculent bellicosity. Not without significance, therefore, even if so to speak lacking in social status, are the enlarging groups in every country which can be reckoned as implacable foes of any warfare whatsoever.

These groups are gradually formulating, out of a large handful of genuine historic experiences in which non-violent resistance or attack was tried and not found wanting, a new weapon of social change, free from the bloody train of war's mad consequences. It is hardly likely that they can make their indubitable gains at a fast enough speed to prevent a great war of the early future should legal barriers fall. Yet their analysis is sound. For the war method is no more safe for mankind to depend on merely because it is converted into a holy war in the name of law.

War is a poisonous weed, rank and lusty, and while it has a thing to feed on it can nowise be stamped out: not by a prohibition only, not merely by the heavy heel of the law, not by punitive crusades at all, not even by slashing at its elusive and multiplying roots. Only by withholding nourishment can it be weakened so it may succumb before coöperative onslaughts. It is sustained by international injustice and repression, by racial arrogance, by economic exploitation, by the oxlike willingness of men to be conscripted, and by *fear*. Thus when it comes to feeding war, both nationally and individually even if in varying degrees, we are as yet aggressors one and all. By looking elsewhere for the dire aggressor, we are but blind to the aggression that is peculiarly our own. And in the fevered search for an aggressor of the future lies not world peace but, on the contrary, world danger.

Atlas Weary of Work

ATLAS, weary of work, goes home.

Not Atlas, cosmic porter,
Who shouldered all the world himself,
When all the world was young;
But Atlas multifold, a million-brained and million
handed Atlas,
An Atlas wrought of many parts, each one bearing
earth burdens on itself.
He toils in pigeon holes whose many windows gleam
from towered heights;
He delves beneath the soil with axe and pick;
He stands all day in mammoth stores;
He plies the needle, clicks the keys,
balances books and presses buttons,
handles levers, answers bells, arranges files;
He works in many metals, many woods
And leashes all the forces of the world
To heed his pigmy touch and monster will,
This Atlas of the million arms and billion ganglia.

When whistles shriek the call for home
He feels a need for rest.
It croons to him within kaleidoscopic selves;
Maybe in some dim thought each manikin
Dreams once again the dream of his great ancestor
Who shouldered all the world himself
And even dozed with all that burden on his back.
Atlas, weary of work, goes home.
They plunge him down in crates from dizzy heights
They push him out of doors and gates; they turn out
lights;
They slam him, cram him, jam him into cars . . .
The wheels of iron cars that clatter overhead,
The wheels of iron cars that thunder underground,
Go round and round and chant a song of home.
He sways upon a strap and marks the beat
On shuffling feet.

His home . . . familiar kitchen smells . . .
He fondles little Atlas wriggling in his crib;
He scolds the other Atlases for making too much noise;
He grumbles at his wife, an ancient privilege,
And then enjoys the meal she sets before him.
This done, he tunes in on the world that never sleeps.
A world of heads gone light on feather toes
And dozes off. . . .
The headlines of the tabloid on his lap
Bawl out their tales of sugar-daddies, vamps, soiled
loves,
But wake him not.

He topples into bed;
A man must get the strength to prop up earth again
Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow.

ELIAS LIEBERMAN

If I Were a Politician

*The Story of Norman Thomas**

IT is late afternoon of a sweltering June Sunday when the New York City Socialist convention turns from formulating a municipal platform to the nomination of a mayoralty candidate. There is no debate now as there was over the wording of platform planks on taxation, transport, and public health. In perfect unison and in rapid order 300 delegates enthusiastically acclaim Norman Thomas as their candidate. He strides to the front of the hall gaily decorated with crimson posters from the late British Labour Party campaign, to acknowledge a nomination he dare not refuse. Suddenly the persistent hand-clapping swells to a roar of wild applause. His very appearance seems to galvanize a tired convention into a demonstration that lasts twenty minutes.

Norman Thomas may have been a hero to that convention; the New York papers characteristically greeted the nomination with a few casual sticks on an inside page. Yet three months later those papers were hailing his candidacy as the feature of the campaign. No one presumed the election of this tall, genially dignified and magnetic candidate of a hitherto dwindling party; yet in a dull campaign he injected a new spirit into the politics of a blasé city.

The Norman Thomas that New York City discovered in the autumn of 1929 is the same man who has become the idol and inspiration of hundreds of young collegians, and who for a decade has been a tireless and devoted champion of causes dear only to a small circle of liberals and radicals. His courage, scholarship, humor, catholicity, and perhaps above all his practical-mindedness mark him as the coming leader of a new day in politics. A growing party, he insists, must have the unity of a philosophy; but he is political realist enough to know that that party must build on immediate issues that touch intimately and daily the lives of the masses whose support it seeks.

Until his New York vote, at least, Norman Thomas considered himself primarily an educator. The almost naive innocence with which he has regarded his political "aspirations" was once brought out in a chance remark. It was one night at New York's Town Hall Club, where a group of editors, professors, and peace leaders had been called together for practical planning in support of the Kellogg Pact. The discussion turned toward the pending Presidential campaign, and suggestions were requested as to how it might be possible to get a warm endorse-

ment of the Pact in the Democratic and Republican party platforms. The most practical suggestions came from the none-the-less perfectly sincere Socialist Presidential candidate, who prefaced his ideas and roused not a little amusement by commencing, "Now if I were a politician. . . ."

MARION, OHIO, in 1884, the year of Norman Thomas's birth, had passed through its pioneer days and was already developing the complacent normalcy that in later years was to flower into Warren Gamaliel Harding. Even the earnest and eloquent preaching of the scholarly Welling Evan Thomas failed to arouse the social consciences of the store-keepers and doctors and lawyers who filled the pews of the Presbyterian church. Indeed, Welsh crusader though he was, it is to be doubted if the Reverend Dr. Thomas realized the full implications of the faith to which he was so devoted. Religion at that time concerned itself with personal virtues and an oppressive formalism. The forces of a rising and ruthless industrialism that unleashed the furies of a World War, which in its backwash sent Marion's editor to the White House and the Reverend Dr. Thomas's son, Norman, almost to jail, had not yet made their impact on the church.

Norman's mother, a woman of considerable attainments, was the leader in each community in which the family lived. In Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where they removed after a number of years in Marion, she served on the school board. She encouraged in all her six children an intense intellectual curiosity and a love of good reading.

Norman's boyhood was lively and fully occupied. He delivered Mr. Harding's *Marion Star*, acquired a proficiency at boxing, and read avidly in his father's library. As the eldest he was expected to carry on in the profession that his father and both grandfathers had honored, and this tacit understanding the boy unquestionably accepted. After a brilliant high school record, he enrolled in Bucknell University, but with little zest; Princeton, glorified by the short stories of Jesse Lynch Williams, was his heart's desire.

A relative's assistance helped him reach Princeton in his sophomore year. There he partially supported himself and plunged into his studies with an enthusiasm that carried him to the top of his class. He displayed a flair for debating, and in the classes of Professor Woodrow Wilson developed an intense interest in politics, government and economics. It is

* One of a series of sketches of pathfinders to a new society, published anonymously to permit greater frankness. Reproduction limited to 300 words.

probable that from Wilson he acquired his eloquent, balanced-sentence style of writing and speaking.

AT the time of his graduation, the aims of most reformers were centered in community settlement houses. Poverty, drunkenness, ignorance, uncleanness, it was hoped, could all be banished by the magic touch of the settlement worker. Two years young Thomas spent in a settlement in the midst of the congested Spring Street slums of New York, and then made a trip around the world in which was laid the foundation for his solid knowledge of world affairs today. Returning, he went to the Christ Church Settlement as an assistant pastor. There he met Frances Violet Stewart who had come to organize one of the first clinics for the treatment of tuberculosis in New York, and in 1910 the two were married.

Thomas had by this time become assistant to Dr. Henry Van Dyke at the Brick Church on Fifth Avenue, all the while studying at Union Theological Seminary and growing more rebellious at the restrictive orthodoxy of his denomination. The New York Presbytery was greatly distressed that so brilliant a young man should hold such frankly heretical beliefs, and questioned him all afternoon before ordaining him. He had his first taste of publicity when newspapers throughout the country carried the story of the ordaining of this young heretic.

Following his graduation from the seminary in 1911, he withdrew from the quiet decorum of the fashionable Brick Church to the storm and stress of the American Parish in one of the most run-down sections of East Harlem. There for six years he and Mrs. Thomas labored among immigrants and through association with them acquired an international point of view. Scores of unemployed used to flock to the parish house for doles of fifty cents a day. In other settlements the unemployed seeking relief were asked to roll bandages for use in the threatening war, but because of shortage in material the bandages were unrolled at night to be rolled again the following day. This, to the Thomases, was absurd. They organized centers in connection with Union Settlement and put the unemployed to work making basketry and moulding pottery.

In this East Side parish, Norman Thomas learned the tragedies of unemployment, of old age, and sickness, and saw the corruption of a city government that existed for patronage and favors in taxation. And he began to realize that settlement work failed to touch the roots of these human tragedies.

THEN came the War. Norman had made his own resolve. He would not fight. Nor could he with any vestige of conscience see the church pro-

claim the gory massacre as God's war. The spectacle of ministers quoting the Gospels in their cries for blood—even the blood of those who refused to murder their brothers—must have tortured him; and the crusade for democracy led by the foes of democracy was too palpably a sham for him to remain quiet.

Morris Hillquit was then running for mayor of New York on the Socialist ticket, and Thomas wrote him a brief note offering support. A few wealthy parishioners had muttered unseemly remarks about the young minister's pacifism, and this espousal of Socialism was the last straw. Thomas gracefully stepped down from the pulpit. He had other work to do.

With a few friends he established *The New World* (renamed *The World Tomorrow* a few months later) and became its first editor. He served for four years. Looking back today over his editorials in that period of hysteria and fear, one is thrilled by their forthrightness, their eloquent incisiveness, and their shrewd forecast of events that history has since revealed in their stark shame. Department of Justice agents trailed him, tapped his wires, and dozed outside his house at nights. Sometimes they came to his office to question him, only to leave flabbergasted by this jovially earnest, persuasive, and seemingly reasonable man. A few years later he had occasion to chuckle with several United States Senators who told him of a mass, almost six inches high, of illiterate reports on his "seditious" activities. Postmaster Burleson, the high priest of Red-baiting, sought on several occasions to suppress *The World Tomorrow*. "Thomas is more insidious than Debs," he growled.

Reports, too, that leaked out of the military and Federal prisons about the brutal treatment of conscientious objectors, again nearly brought him into conflict with the Government. Himself just beyond the first draft age and in a different class in the second draft due to the number of his children, he had no occasion to refuse arms. But he did all he could for those who were in prison.

His shoulders in those days were bowed as though he were Atlas. Together with Roger N. Baldwin, he had helped found the National Civil Liberties Bureau (now the American Civil Liberties Union). On Armistice Day he saw Baldwin whisked away for a year in jail because of his refusal to register for the draft. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, of which Thomas was Secretary, was likewise the prey of official and unofficial snoopers.

Little wonder that today at forty-five Norman Thomas's hair is almost white! And to top it all, the eldest of his six children died shortly after the War. Mrs. Thomas's ill health which curtails so many of her activities, and at times her husband's, necessitates the children being kept in schools out of

the city much of the time. They have been given this opportunity and their father enabled to be left free for his chosen work through a small but sufficient inheritance from Mrs. Thomas's relatives.

IT is in an enlightened social democracy that today lies Norman Thomas's hope for mankind. The relentless onward march of machinery is knitting the world into a collective whole. The control of this world for man's freedom and happiness calls for a vision, a philosophy, and a program beyond anything society has hitherto known. "Year by year I am more certain that in our task not even the noblest figure of the past, Jesus, is an adequate resource. Each new generation must solve its own problems, and in a generation whose problems are so novel and complex we frequently stretch the teachings of Jesus wholly out of their original meaning."

Cogently, eloquently, he has stated his own philosophy of life: "I am a Socialist because in our modern world it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material and skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of war, and increase the measure of freedom and fraternity in our world. So great a task outruns the life of one generation or the functions of any political party. The party or the movement which undertakes it will often falter and fall. Socialism as an organized movement here and abroad is a movement of men, not of supermen. It has its own disappointments and failures, but nowhere else except in the Socialist movement do I find any heartening answer to that great challenge of our day and generation: how shall we, men of all nations and races, forced by the development of our machine civilization into dependence upon one another, work out our destiny in terms of worldwide fellowship instead of exploitation and strife?"

"WHAT I like about Norman," said that doughty warrior of the labor movement, Jim Maurer, for sixteen years president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and now Socialist Commissioner in Reading, "is that he came to us when everybody else was running away."

Among some of the old comrades, that act during those dismal days accounts for his tremendous popularity almost as much as does his magnetic personality. One after another the Socialist intellectuals were fleeing from the movement either at the beckoning of Wilson's eloquence or from the hammer blows of the four-minute men. Spargo, safely past the draft age, turned to abusing those young Socialists whose consciences sent them to jail; William English Walling who a few months before had been calling "comrades to arms" now assailed them as traitors; J. G. Phelps Stokes bristled about in an officer's uniform;

even Upton Sinclair almost in tears relinquished his red card. And then out of his pulpit came this tall, earnest minister, to hearten them at their disconsolate meetings—to win even the bitter anti-religionists by his patient humor and his sincerity, to give expression to dissenting views in his new-founded magazine, and to organize a civil liberties bureau for those who were persecuted.

On the other hand there was the defection of the rigid Marxists and the romanticists to the left. But Thomas's deep sympathy for the Russian revolution did not degenerate into a sentimental endorsement of the Soviet dictatorship. He said so plainly in his speeches and in *The World Tomorrow*. The American Communists have never forgiven him. Scarcely a week passes without the Communist *Daily Worker* denouncing him as a "sniveling, yellow Socialist faker" or a "social-fascist sky pilot."

FOR a year, following his resignation as editor of *The World Tomorrow* in 1921, Thomas was associate editor of *The Nation*. Then came an opportunity to join with Harry W. Laidler in building up the League for Industrial Democracy out of the



From an etching by Bernard Sanders

NORMAN THOMAS

old Intercollegiate Socialist Society. Laidler has many times been called the Sidney Webb of America; he is probably our foremost Socialist scholar, and his monumental history of Socialist thought has been translated into Japanese and Chinese as well as the languages of continental Europe. Almost exactly the same age, one very tall, the other very short, one a brilliant speaker, the other a brilliant researcher—together these two men make an excellent if somewhat amusing team. To say they have relighted the flame of young America's idealism would be an exaggeration, but none can gainsay they have tinted it. In recent years, Thomas has grown immensely popular even in the more conservative colleges; probably no convocation speaker in America is so greatly in demand or receives such attentive audiences.

Save for a few weeks when he was editor of a short-lived labor daily and for the brief time he spends almost every year in political campaigns, Thomas has devoted the rest of his time to the L. I. D. The Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, organized by the L. I. D. and directed by him, has raised and distributed more than \$100,000 in relief for various strikes. In the bitter textile strikes in Tennessee and the Carolinas in 1929 Thomas's committee was for some months practically the one source of support.

The strike of the wool workers in Passaic in 1926 and 1927 was one of the toughest struggles in American labor history. The local police promulgated the familiar doctrine that strikers have no rights. Throughout a long winter the strikers hungered, were beaten and ridden down by mounted police and bowled over by icy streams from fire hose. Newspaper reporters were treated to the same gay time and had their cameras smashed. Thomas was in Passaic nearly every day addressing the solid ranks of mill hands. When the sheriff of Bergen County announced that no more public meetings could be held in the adjoining town of Garfield, Thomas determined to make a test case. The American Civil Liberties Union rented a vacant lot, and word was sent out among the strikers that he would address them. Lacking a platform he mounted the stump of an old apple tree and began:

"This is the first stump speech I've ever made from a stump. We have come here to test our rights as American citizens to hold a peaceful meeting for a legal and legitimate purpose. Yesterday was the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. You may have heard of the name. His name is being celebrated in Passaic by a shameful desecration of the cause of liberty for which he strove so valiantly."

A police whistle shrilled. "Lock that bird up," bawled the sheriff. Through the crowd, swinging rifle butts and clubs, went his deputies to the none

too ample platform. Thomas was yanked from it and hustled away in a waiting police car. Hours later his friends located him in a remote jail where he had spent the night in the absence of \$10,000 ready bail. The story of the arrest appeared on the front pages of nearly every newspaper in America; affidavits proving the illegality of the arrest and the prohibition of the meeting brought an order from the judge lifting the sheriff's ban on all gatherings. There were no more interferences.

THE 1928 Presidential campaign loomed as the most disheartening for the Socialists in a quarter-century. Where the party organization had survived the onslaughts of the Communist defection, it had generally decayed after the Progressive debacle. The national party secretary did not even have a complete list of the few Socialists in political office. Contact had ceased with many locals; in most states the party no longer enjoyed an official place on the ballot. Thousands of one-time active members had lost interest following the death of Eugene Debs. Here was the standard-bearer rôle of a once threatening minority party actually going begging! Thomas did not want the nomination. He had had a strenuous year speaking for the L. I. D.; his desk was piled high with matters that demanded his attention. He needed a vacation. And he wanted to write a book on "Socialism for Our Time." His own choice for Presidential nominee was Jim Maurer, a forceful and shrewd campaigner, and popular in the labor ranks. But Maurer was learning the ropes of city government as the new Commissioner of Finance in Reading, Pennsylvania.

Maurer, however, consented to be Thomas's running mate, and against tremendously discouraging odds they set out to win on a sober discussion of economic issues an electorate vigorously debating religion, rum, and the pronunciation of r-a-d-i-o.

Candidates Hoover and Smith, when they traveled, rode in private trains, with entourages of a hundred or more publicity agents, reporters, and glad-handers. Candidate Thomas traveled sometimes by airplane, but most of the hot summer nights he spent in a Pullman berth three inches too short. His entourage consisted of August Gerber who helped local comrades arrange meetings and who took the collection, and alternately McAlister Coleman or Edward Levinson who explained to cub reporters that Mr. Thomas really was a candidate for President, and that he did not believe in anarchy or vegetarianism, and that he seldom wore red ties.

And his electoral reward was only a little more than a quarter-million, the lowest vote since 1900! He was, of course, complimented, even by the papers that had ignored his speeches, on the high level of his splendid campaign! "I appreciate the flowers,"

he laughed to some friends. "Only I wish the funeral hadn't been so complete."

Flowers, many garlands of them, were again flung to him in the New York mayoralty campaign of 1929. No one has thought to call their occasion a funeral.

NORMAN THOMAS is no saint. He has his faults. No man who speaks so often could always speak at his best. Sometimes when he speaks at his worst, he is pretty bad. That is, he lacks cohesiveness and at times the winsome qualities that appeal to those who may not at once be ready to follow his leading. He has the gift of gab, and there have been times when one could easily see breaking through his sentences the sheer love of polemics. He dotes on an argument and has sent more than one person home from a small group discussion fuming impotently, too restrained to burst in with violent speech and stem the tide of delphic pronouncements that descended over the land. These things happen usually when Norman is too tired, as he often is perforce; but those who know him well would gladly run the risk of starting any amount of debates for the sake of the frequent wisdom that indubitably comes forth when he is really aroused. And if his satirical sense of humor gets him in hot water once in a while,

his friends would hardly sacrifice it for too much of the genuine dignity he possesses.

A crown of thorns generally awaits the political forecaster. And he who predicts the election in America of a Socialist to high office is likely to be stoned with public ridicule as well. Will Norman Thomas ever be elected President, Governor, Mayor, Congressman? This writer makes no pretense at forecast. He merely ventures the fact of history that stranger things have happened.

Will the emigrants from Republican and Democratic pastures join the Socialist Party or will they unite with them in forming a new party, perhaps named Labor? The forecaster has little regard for anyone who essays a definite answer. The Socialists by merging with the La Follette forces in 1924 and in declarations since have expressed their willingness to merge with larger groups provided that the latter are seeking like themselves a collective, functional control of our economic life. "I am not wedded to the Socialist label," Thomas has said. "Only I do not yet know of any word that so thoroughly expresses the ideal we are seeking." One thing, however, is certain: no political guesser need fear a crown of thorns in predicting that, Labor or Socialist, the party will find its natural leader in Norman Thomas.

The Soviet Puritans

H. D. HILL

GIVEN a week in Moscow, a Russian vocabulary of not exceeding five words, and a congenital mistrust of guides, how do we best see what is going on? That was our problem as we left the Moscow station. By the time we had reached the Revolutionary Square we had half the answer by walking the streets. And we had brought with us the other half, for when the Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio brought "Carmencita and the Soldier" to New York in 1926, we had seen it nightly—by going to the theater.

When the week was over, and we had walked and walked and seen and seen, we agreed that the thread of continuity on which our experiences could slide into a chain was less that of a new economic system than that of a new morality. To put it a little differently: Communism, if you like, has become the Russian religion; the coming Communist State has indeed become the Kingdom of God; but the layman (and it is he whom one sees on the street and in the theater) is less concerned with the Kingdom as a whole, whose future existence he is led to take for granted, than with his share in the details of bring-

ing it about. In other words, his concern is less with faith, which party discipline and the G.P.U. keep reasonably uniform, than with works, whose quality and quantity are less uniform and must be improved; and it is thus the morality of the new religion rather than its metaphysics (which are reserved for the Kremlin) that one meets in the theatre and on the street.

It is a characteristically Puritan morality, effective, humorless, and on its fringes hypocritical. At times it is a beautifully portrayed strategy of life; at other times it has as saccharine a happy end as any American Wild West movie, with the good unfailingly rewarded and the evil-doer foiled or led away in ignominy.

Both are alike to be seen on the Moscow stage. Take the contrast between the ballet "The Red Poppy" and the drama "Klop, the Bedbug." The former is a symbolized version of the bringing of the Red Revolution to China. The first act shows the unloading of a Soviet ship in a Chinese port. Overburdened coolies are staggering down a steep gangplank to the wharf, their steps timed to the monotony

of the lash. The Soviet crew takes over the job on the principle of the human chain, so that nobody moves and the bales are passed easily overhead from hand to hand. The timing and the music make this not propaganda for rationalization, but art. Nor is even this idea pursued relentlessly. A dancing girl falls in love with the Soviet captain. At her house a capitalist ship-owner bribes a Chinese to kill the captain during the hotel entertainment the following afternoon. The men depart and she settles herself for the night. A gauze curtain falls, and as she drifts into the sea of dreams, it shadows the quick outlines of innumerable fish. She opens her eyes in a land of fantasy and dances delicious figures with stiff-winged sprites and a garden of Oriental flowers come to life until a red junk appears to take her home. In the next scene the Charlestoning couples of the hotel tea-dansant stop and make place for the divertissement of native dances. The dancing girl, in an entr'acte silhouette, discovers that she is to give poison to the captain in his tea. The captain offers her a red poppy. At the crucial moment she dashes the poison from his lips. It is the signal for the revolution. The dancing girl is discovered and shot, but in dying she passes the poppy on. It is ballet of a finesse such as one does not see in the West.

"THE Bedbug," at the Meyerhold Theater is as crude ideologically as the ballet is artistic. The moral is brought literally home. The opening scene is a parody of any Moscow street, the sidewalk so overcrowded as to render movement almost impossible and the crowd beset by private traders offering every thing from fish to brassieres. A Soviet policeman appears. In a flash, space and silence. Then comes a bourgeois family whose son has insisted upon leaving home to share the quarters (and even the bedbugs) of the proletariat. His father trails him there, to bring him back to be married. The wedding feast turns into a vodka drunk, at the end of which a stove is knocked over and the house burns, burying the hero alive for fifty years. Firemen come and, striking attitudes on the ruins, they declaim against waste. The next scenes, fifty years later, show the millennium in full swing. The hero's tomb is opened by scientists, and the only familiar sight which the bewildered youth can discover is his bedbug, faithful to the last. Both are preserved alive as museum specimens, but a distinction is made between them. The bedbug is *Klopis normalis*; the man is *homo vulgaris*. So he becomes an object-lesson demonstrated by professors to the pure youth of future Communist classes. He does not like to read. He smokes. He drinks vodka. He even spits. The

audience is by this time in sympathetic laughter. The object lesson rises, comes down stage and stretches out his hands. "You may laugh," he says, "but are you not too like me, living according to old ways in a new age?"

It is the latter theater which is regarded as best expressing the new spirit; as a matter of fact the first time we tried to go to "Klop" the tickets for the announced performance had been commandeered for a private party showing.

Strictly moral principles of personal fitness like the above do at times, however, give way to a graphic illustration of the metaphysical side of the new religion. We were not wholly sure, when we left Russia, to what extent the ikon has departed from the national life. The ikons of the Christian saints which were formerly in every house are now either on display in the State Historical Museum, or for sale to foreigners at the State Antiquariat on the Tverskaya. But is a new type not in process of development?

WE went to the Anti-God Museum and saw the admirable section on evolution, and the equally admirable section on comparative religions. We saw exhibits of skeletons indicating that the bodies of saints do decay, the exhibition of the instruments of torture used by the various flagellants, and signs taken from churches showing the many different purposes for which the priests used to mulct the people. Our guide (yes, we had to have one here) pointed out a collection of documents proving to what extent this oppression was formerly supported by donations from foreign capitalists, and called our attention in particular to a letter from a Christian Science organization offering to forward religious books. Then, God being dead, we went across the square to the Revolutionary Museum. This is really a family photograph album in which are collected the likenesses and effects of the nineteenth and twentieth century revolutionists. (The faces of many of them are extraordinarily beautiful.) But the most striking of its contents is the climax of the portraits in a beautifully colored and electrically lighted diagram of what the foreign journalists in Moscow refer to as the Immaculate Conception, and whose proper name is the Five Year Plan.

THIS new social program, in one form or another, certainly bids fair to be the contemporary ikon. Between the openings of the gate leading from the Revolutionary Square to the Red Square, where the Chapel of the Iberian Virgin, the holiest thing in all Russia, stood until it was secretly removed one night last August, is a schematic billboard-man climbing upward in the direction of more and better statistics.

The posters in the banks and stores show under 1929 the interminable queues of today; under 1933 appears a truck laden with food and overshoes. The Five Year Plan will bring this change about. The rubbers question, by the way, is a vital one. The day after we came the snow melted; in twenty-four hours the slush was ankle deep where it wasn't deeper; we stood in queues in all the shoe stores and always arrived too late for our size.

What the new tomb of Lenin will be like no one can yet say. The mystery of its construction is at present shrouded by closely fitting boardings in which even our experienced eyes, sharpened by unpaid attendance at baseball games in our youth, could not discover a single knothole. A slight sensitiveness on the part of the government censor as to the implications of this tomb appeared recently when an American journalist tried to send a dispatch mentioning "the new edifice in which Lenin is to be enshrined" and was forced to change his wording to "entombed."

THE continuity between the old magic and the new appears vividly in the film "Old and New, or The General Line" which Eisenstein completed last summer for showing in the Soviet villages. The film is being used to strengthen interest in the collective farming projects which form a large part of the Five Year Plan.

Artistically, the film is an achievement. As in "The Armored Cruiser Potemkin," Eisenstein has known how to use mass and space so as to give immensity to his human drama. Here it is the Land—the unending swells of ground undulating to an indefinite horizon—from which he gets his initial impression and tempo. Then come the peasants. A poor widow goes to the fatted house of a rich Kulak and asks for a day's loan of a horse to plow. Denied, she works her only cow until it dies. Other scenes from the life of a poor peasant follow: huts where families, sheep, goats, and vermin share a single room, wet underfoot and suffocating with the smoke of the unvented fire. The summer advances and with it a drought; the land rolls like a salt sea; the sheep are panting. A religious procession is decided upon; the glittering golden ikons are borne past the kneeling people in a pitiful thin procession across the parched fields. The priest prays. Storm clouds gather; the worshippers bow their sweat-streaming faces to the sand; the storm rolls by high overhead, and the heat returns. From the corners of their eyes the peasants look at the priest. The magic has failed.

That is the old. The new commences by a meeting at which the woman whose cow died is addressing the peasants, urging them to change. She is greeted by a burst of laughter at the idea of a woman speaking in public. But a delegation of Soviet organ-

izers, a technician, and a member of the Soviet Youth Organization prevail upon them to try out a collective farm. There follows a demonstration of a cream separator. The peasants file uneasily into the room where the machine is carefully shrouded by a cloth. (We thought of the hoardings around Lenin's tomb.) The Soviet organizer steps up and unveils the separator dramatically. He sets it into motion; after a time of suspense the two separated streams pour forth. It works; and the woman whose cow died steps forward to the spigots to catch the spattering miracle in her hands.

We went to see "Boris Goudunoff" at the Stanislavsky Theater—an entirely different "Boris" from that which is given in the West. After that unforgettable performance we were faced with a paradox. The whole theory of the Moscow Art Theater actors, and not only when they are giving classics like "Boris" but when they are playing such modern bits as the comedy on student marriage under limited housing conditions which is called "The Square Circle," is the fullest possible personalization of even the minutest part. (Take the characters in the crowd before the cathedral in "Boris," for instance.) Stanislavsky's realism, unlike the Western realism which we associate with a Belascan plenitude of properties, goes beyond reproduction to sensation. It is realism based upon the essential uniqueness of each human personality. The Russians can do that. Yet the Communist of the future as represented by the current morality plays, even when not as exaggeratedly a robot as the linoleum-clad figures of the Communist class in "Klop," is an economic serial type.

WE wondered, in leaving, if the real crisis of the Soviets may not lie here. In an Occidental country one would say that the crisis would come in connection with the Five Year Plan. The completeness with which the Communists have placed their faith in the power of the machine would mean in the West that their power would stand or fall on their ability to make it work, that the pragmatic test which they have applied to the prayer for rain would with relentless logic be applied by their constituents to the cream separator.

Every Puritanism, and not least this Reformation of the proletariat, has had its source in an effort to substantiate the value and dignity of the individual. And equally every Puritanism, in its post-revolutionary period, has set up a morality governing the individual's calling, a morality based upon regularity, temperance, thrift, and enforced it through collective sanctions which have tended to stereotype his newly acquired personality within very narrow limits. How far can the Roundheads go with Ivan? Is that perhaps the fundamental question?

Not in the Headlines

Indian Labor in South Africa

The South African Typographical Union has opened its membership to Indian workers. This is the first concession of the kind in a part of the world where the inter-racial situation is tinged with prejudice.

The Five-Day Week

The firm of Daniels & Co., manufacturers of tapestries and other fabrics, with mills in New York, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Georgia has introduced a five-day week schedule. The company will retain its working time of 46 hours per week, but will concentrate its weekly schedule within five days.

Suicide in Vienna

Suicides have been abnormally frequent since the War, in all the Central European countries. Dr. Walther Echstein, President of the Vienna Ethical Society, who has been carrying on a helpful preventive campaign, has stated that in Vienna alone the suicides in 1926 numbered 1,926 with 1,437 unsuccessful attempts; in 1927, 880 with 1,643 attempts; in 1928, 960 with 2,118 attempts.

Agricultural Progress in Chile

An increase of one hundred per cent in production during the next two decades is anticipated by observers of Chile's new irrigation projects, which involve approximately 1,397,500 acres of land. No fewer than seventeen such irrigation undertakings were begun in the last year, the cost to reach at least \$24,000,000. These projects increase the total extent of irrigated land in Chile to 4,000,000 acres.

Losses at Sea

During the year 1929 only 69 lives out of 328,465,552 passengers were lost in collisions and foundering of ships examined by the Inspection Service of the U. S. Commerce Department. A total of 341 lives were lost from all causes at sea while 272 were due to suicide, accidental drowning and other causes not included in collisions and sea accidents. Life saving appliances, according to the report of the Commerce Department, saved 741 lives during the year.

Mexico Revolutionizes Criminal Law

A new Penal Code was adopted in Mexico January 1st, which does away entirely with the death penalty for civil crimes and substitutes medical, psychiatric, and educational study and treatment of the individual offender by a commission of experts for the usual methods of conviction, sentencing, and imprisonment. The body charged with the duty of socially rehabilitating the criminal instead of meting out punishment is called the "Supreme Council of Social Prevision and Defense." It consists of five specialists in penology, criminology, and related social sciences. They will have full authority over all penal and correctional institutions.

Palestine Workers Unite

After a cleavage lasting for nearly twenty-five years, according to the Palestine labor daily *Davar*, published at Tel Aviv, a union of the Zionist Labor Party and the Zionist Socialist Party is assured, and details are in process of being worked out.

Our Own Child Marriages

Facts recently emphasized by the New York League of Women Voters indicate that according to the United States census there are now living in this country 350,000 women who were child brides—married before they were sixteen. The majority were native-born, with native-born parents.

German Women and Higher Education

More than 15,000 women are now enrolled in German universities and institutions of higher learning. In the year prior to the World War there were only 3,000. The universities of Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Hamburg, Bonn and Freiberg show the largest increase in the attendance of women students. Political economy and law, medicine, theology, and liberal arts are the fields in which the majority of women seem to be specializing.

Amends

As an evidence of good will, in order to repair the damage done by the United States Marines to the University of Leon, Nicaragua, a group of American students have raised a sum of \$100, which was presented by Charles Thomsen, secretary of the Latin America Fellowship of Reconciliation to Dr. Luis H. Debayl, president of the Faculty of Medicine. The money will be used to purchase books and equipment for the medical school.

London and Its Children

A child guidance clinic has been opened in London, England, after two years of careful preparation and planning. The clinic will give treatment to child clients and will also provide training service for social workers, educators and others who are interested in problems of mental hygiene among children. Children will be accepted from the London County Council's schools, from social agencies, health agencies, nursery schools, children's courts and private families.

The Stranger Within Our Gates

Figures compiled by the Association of American Colleges indicate that eighteen foreign countries had 100 or more students attending American colleges and universities during the years 1928 and 1929. Canada and China topped the list with more than 1,000 students each. Japan, the Philippines, Russia, and England were each represented by 300 to 800 students. Poland, Cuba, and Switzerland sent slightly more than 100 young men and women to this country.

So You're All Going To Europe

HENRY T. VOLKENING

IN ROME, some twenty years ago, there was a lame and lowly hack-driver, stolid and unschooled. You would never have suspected that his watery little pig-eyes, so movingly grateful for every small favor, could have been seeing for himself a high place in the world, as teacher of thousands of respectful men and women; a high place not to be laboriously attained in a competitive up-hill struggle, but to be the sudden rightful reward of one easy, magical leap.

Cruising about among the ruins of his city, he noticed that every day brought more visitors, and that most of them asked unintelligible questions in a strange language called English. He noticed furthermore that in all Rome there seemed to be no one who understood their jargon. They often tipped generously too.

Here was the hand-writing on the wall. Home he drove, brushed up on the romantic gossip and gory statistics of Ancient Rome, learned a hundred superlative English adjectives, and presented himself at the office of one of the international tourist universities, as candidate for the position of professor of history.

He landed the job. What is more, he still has it. You can see him any fine morning on the sunny Esedra Termini, limping alongside a bus-full of supine tourists. At 9:30 he climbs aboard, lifting his hat to his charges in a pleasantly patronizing "good-morning" that is meant to make everyone feel thoroughly satisfied in advance, and gratefully generous when the day is done.

Now, if you happen to be a wise enough traveler to be viewing these antics from the shady table of a nearby café, being in no hurry at all to "do" Rome in three days so that you can rush to the next place, this will be the last you see of our Lord Byron, until, at 5:30 in the afternoon, if you are a very wise traveler and consequently still sitting at the same café table, you will notice the returned bus disgorge its people, all of them very much the worse for wear.

The chances are, however, that you are not a wise traveler, and that, "just to get my bearings," or because you consider a travel agency essential to every move away from home, you will have joined a "party," as such a jovial group is everywhere called. You probably will have visited the Pantheon, the Forum, and the Coliseum, with one or two art galleries and crypts thrown in, and from them will have retained only a vague series of dulled impressions about the ladies who took notes and asked ques-

tions about Nero, and the men who either remained silent the whole day or tried to engage you in conversation about Omaha or San Francisco. All you will have remembered of the guide is that he was everlastingly hurrying everyone and counting noses, that you could not understand a word he said except "most beautiful" and "most big."

It is all very depressing. So take a jump in the modern approved manner to far-off Edinburgh, home of preachers and educators, where even the daily papers are hawked with fervency, in long funereally chanted, periodic sentences. There too you may be foolish enough to hope once more, since time is short, that the organized tour of the city by bus will be the best means of introduction. It won't be. On historic and fascinating Castle Hill the guide, a sentimental old man, will rant only about the Scottish National War Memorial and the heinousness of the Germans. In the beautiful ruins of Holyrood Abbey he will content himself with a touching legend of some lover or other who lies buried there. In Grayfriars Churchyard he will hold his audience spellbound as he weeps for half an hour by a grave upon which a dog is supposed to have died in mourning over the loss of his master.

EVERYWHERE it is the same story of vulgarity and good-natured ignorance. In Vienna the guides tell you how much money you have, in Paris they tell you what fun you're having, in Munich they give you German jokes, and in London they are unbearable, for there they add to their stupidity a grand manner. Throughout Europe the company guides, with few exceptions, seem to form a closed corporation of dunces. And usually the private guides are little better, though they are more meticulous in dress and are forever asking if you know the Vanderbilts, or the Astors, or somebody from Newport for whom they have been couriers. The Roman hack-driver is not an exception in guides; he is the rule. And literally nobody seems to care.

The explanation is easy. Just as at home we are eating up education in the gross, and have made a national fetish of gloss, so abroad we are passively and uncritically accepting as manna everything that the travel agencies offer. Wearied by the pace of our existence, we do not want to plan for ourselves and to adventure about independently in strange countries. We choose our itineraries almost at random from among the dozen or so that some handsome college

boy at Raymond and Whitcomb or the American Express Company has offered us. For the same reason that a whole family have always gone to Yale, they will all go to London, Paris, and Lucerne. Regimented thinking at college and since has produced regimented travel. And regimented travel has produced the need for vast organizations to command and serve the regiments. And the organizations have discovered to their profit that regiments are happy and submissive if they are comfortable, if they have quick and courteous banking facilities, efficient mailing service, easy transportation, rooms with bath, and guidance that can be ever so idiotic as long as it is humorous, flattering, and helpful to the helpless. Accordingly such service is admirably supplied in every corner of the earth by the enormous corporations which have made traveling the safest, easiest, and dullest pleasure in the world. Beginning by being a great convenience and often a true aid, even for the man with imagination and an honest desire to evaluate and enjoy civilizations different from his own, they have gradually become a serious menace to intelligent, independent travel.

IT IS true that as long as there are people like the unhappy and tremulous little couple of my acquaintance, who for eight hours on a train devour frantically a dozen Cook's pamphlets instead of one good guide book and who, upon their arrival in Paris are in a panic because the Cook's man is not at hand to lead them to a taxi; and as long as such people feel that they must make themselves miserable by taking a trip abroad, after having lived together quite peaceably for twenty-five years above their prosperous grocery store in a Wisconsin town, just so long will Cook's and its younger competitors fill a need in a restless world. But we are not all frightened hares—as yet, at least.

And the Ballyhoo Tours, those great homogeneous chain-gangs whose roars fill the hotel dining-rooms, whose dollars bring riches to the gimcrack shops, and whose incessant chatter of their friends at home makes you wonder why they didn't all stay there—for them, too, organized arrangements are necessary. But we are not all bleating sheep—as yet, at least.

And the good old American families, wealthy and effete, who in groups of four or five ride regally on balloon tires over the best roads of Europe, and drink freely of the best wines and whiskeys—they too would be lost without their gossip private guides. But we are not all so magnificent, so completely blasé, and so thoroughly schooled in the country-club philosophy—as yet, at least.

Let those who cannot do without a nurse-girl and those who look with suspicion upon all foreigners lean as heavily as they like upon the far-reaching, maternal

arm of an agency. For such people the reassuring pat of the American Express Company is a rightful subject for hymns of praise. It does them a service without which they would never have ventured abroad. But let not the agencies preempt the earth. Simply because most travelers want to carry coupons is no reason for all of us being compelled to follow suit.

Yet that is exactly the deplorable course that affairs are taking. The huge demand for the services of travel agencies has given them a sinister power over the few remaining travelers with a spark of adventure left in them. And this power is growing so fast that it will be only a short time until every American visitor to Paris will be compelled, in order that he may move and sleep without becoming a tramp, to call as regularly at the zoo on the Rue Scribe as if he were a convict on parole. It is already almost literally true that all the wonderland of Egypt belongs to Thomas Cook and Son.

THE secret of the success of this sweet and easy philosophy of service seems to be: "Join the Navy and see the World!" By George, you must join or you don't see it. Everything favors the group, in travel as in all else. "For Members Only" is a sign that might well be tacked to the maps of the world. Go directly to a steamship company for a cabin and they will laugh at you, although the stock market crash may now have made them temporarily more courteous. Make your own unassisted reservations at a hotel and, though the proprietor gets considerably more from you than if he had to pay a commission to an agency, you'll get the poorest room in the place. Try to wander by yourself through the Royal Apartments at Schönbrunn, and you'll be told that only groups are permitted to enter.

Cook, I understand, owns the railway to Mount Vesuvius, a rather special little prize that they've so far not attempted to reserve exclusively for their "parties." Raymond and Whitcomb go chartering whole steamers in which to take their guests exploring, conviviality and the high social status of the whole merry family being the chief selling point.

One wonders if the day will come when even passports must be obtained at the American Express Office. To date you can at least prepare for a trip abroad without assistance, although even now obtaining the necessary visas is such a tiresome and red-taped business that anyone who does not let an agency do it for him is looked upon as being crazy.

They have the whole field of travel so well covered, these octopi, that it is almost impossible to move without their help. In the railway cars in the crowded season most of the places are reserved by the agencies. You're lucky to have standing-room in

the aisle. If you want to go to the theatre, or opera, or concert, your hotel porter can help you, but he is inclined to disregard your desires and to look with superior suspicion at your being "independent," if indeed he doesn't think you a downright idiot.

THE charm, the delight, the adventure are already all but gone from travel. The agencies have taken them, by popular request, and given us orderly itineraries instead. More people on conducted tours daily visit Wordsworth's "seat" on the little hill behind Dove Cottage, overlooking beautiful Grasmere Lake, than crossed the threshold of his home in the whole nine years of his residence. There is no longer any charm to a bench upon which dozens of dolts each summer's day plump themselves with giggles and guffaws. Nor is there the delight of discovery in coming upon a shrine that has become a side-show. As for adventure, unless organized raids upon the stupid cut-throat cabarets of Montmartre can pass by that name, where is there any of it, or where does one even hear of it? What little there is of so-called adventure is arranged. Halliburton visits Devil's Island—by arrangement. Halliburton swims the Panama Canal—by arrangement, and with fanfare. Wealthy wives return from the jungle with photographs of dead lions and elephants—killed by the hired natives, no matter who fired the shots.

Perhaps we are solving by mass affectation and advertising even the most unanswerable riddles of the world. No door but finally falls before the pressure of these numbers. We are spoiled children passing judgment upon what we know not—and on ourselves. On the boat to Europe we read Edgar Wallace, or play bridge or get drunk. Our whole trip is planned for us, so why should we tax our minds with thinking of it? On the sight-seeing buses we regale our tired spirits by perusal of the financial page of the Paris Herald. On the sleepy island of Capri we have a quick luncheon, write a few post-cards, and hurry back to the boat for Naples. Shades of Norman Douglas! What care we for the spirit of a place, or for anything but being able to say we've been there?

In Vienna, where two hours over an afternoon cup of Turkish coffee dispels the illusion of time, we allow ourselves to be pushed through the sights as if they were so many subway turnstiles. In Venice we cannot linger long over ices at Florians, in the sunshine, with San Marco basking contentedly before us. For we must pack our things by 5.47, and there is still that green leather purse to be bought for Aunt Minnie.

Can you blame the Europeans? From the Baltic to the Mediterranean they laugh at us, when they can afford to, and think bitterly upon our loud and

vulgar display of wealth, our provincialism and bad manners, when they are poor.

IT IS this sort of international ill-will that our travel agencies are helping to foster. For it is not, generally speaking, the appreciative and sympathetic traveler whom they entice. The people who flock to the agencies and trudge all over Europe behind an endless series of incompetent guides are surely not the "free spirits" in whose understanding and kindness lies literally the hope of the world. Our led-by-the-nose tourists—that is those of them who are beyond the pining stage of life—are simply a pack of expansive newlyweds, wrapped up entirely in themselves and one another, and intent upon nothing but the superior and romantic gratification of their narrow and possessive desires.

Do you think I exaggerate? Reflect a moment. What does the returned tourist tell you of his trip? Does he describe articulately some of the rarely beautiful sights that he must have seen? No, for that would be difficult, and effeminate, and no one would listen anyway. Does he tell you one genuinely interesting experience that he has had? No, for he either hasn't had any, or he has forgotten it. He tells you merely of his smuggled cigars, or of people he met (Americans all!), or of places where the beer or wine was good, or of his purchases and trouble with the customs, or of the "funny little trains," or of expenses, or of the price of gasoline in Munich, or of many other unimportant and dull experiences that show you he might just as well have stayed home and chased a pill across the fields.

There is a rebellion among a few of the young people against this stupid use we are making of our money. And in our youth, if anywhere, lies the hope of the world. The old folks, those who have become accustomed to wintering at Cannes, springing at Rome, summering at Lucerne, and autumning at football games, or those who know nothing of what they see, and for whom history and literature are equally unborn, except at Washington or along Main Street—well, there's not much hope in them, or for them either, without an itinerary, letters-of-credit, baggage insurance, megaphones, and all the other comforting paraphernalia of the travel agencies. For them order is heaven's first law, in a sense never intended. They'll die as they've lived—in safety. And perhaps even Charon will take a Cook's coupon?

But our youth! A handful of them, the "free spirits," are braving the organized democratizing and destructive vulgarizing of the agencies and their customers. With little money in their pockets, and with parental head-shakings for a blessing, they are seeking for—whatever they may find, and by themselves.

Clippings

Men and Jobs

It is the fault of democracy that it does not measure men for its jobs. Democracy pays heavily for the fault. So do men!—*John Haynes Holmes, in Unity, March 24, 1930.*

Startling's Too Mild a Word

If some evil power were to lift from our midst all of the painters, sculptors, musicians, actors, dancers, or writers who are of foreign birth the resulting loss would bring us to a startling realization of America's inestimable cultural debt to these immigrants.—*The Interpreter, January, 1930.*

Speaking of Social Forces

Apart from the bad cooking that is still unfortunately the rule rather than the exception, the monotony of the Irishman's meals goes far to explain why in our politics and our potheen we insist upon something with a violent kick in it.—*George Russell, (Æ) in The Irish Statesman, January 25, 1930.*

The Real Way

I decline to be enthusiastic about any of the disarmament parade. I do not even think it leads toward peace. I find it hard to believe in the sincerity of those who pretend it does. The only real way to end war is to destroy the liberty to make war, that is to say, to put an end to the outgrown sovereign independence of states. The only real way to peace in the world is world federation.—*H. G. Wells in New York World, March 17, 1930.*

Why Culture?

It must be remembered that the women of the western world, particularly those of the United States, are almost 100 per cent middle class in their outlook. The things that they value are what the banker's or prosperous merchant's or rich industrialist's wife and daughter value. Pride of family isn't necessary nor social tradition nor class consciousness nor interest in any heritage of culture for the maintenance of American standards of value. As Will Rogers puts it in one of his stage characterizations: "What do I need ancestors or culture for? I got money."—*H. C. Dekker, in Critic and Guide, February, 1930.*

Attention, Protestants

No longer can the prime object of religion be to build up a separated ecclesia of the saved. Religion was made for man, not man for religion. The problem for Protestantism is how to enter into every mood, phase, and variety of human interests with sympathetic fellowship. Reveal every day as sacred as the seventh, work as holy as prayer, the earth as advantageous as heaven, divine childhood inherent in being man. There is nothing common or unclean when we see sorrow, sin, and ignorance as shadows resultant of light. We have come to the place where reason and faith are mutual instincts, science and religion companions on the human journey of discovery.—*Charles Hall Perry, in Scribner's, March, 1930.*

Well, Why?

The most fundamental question raised by the coal lock-out in New South Wales receives very little attention from the great mass of the public. Why should any set of individuals be permitted to own the coal mines, and work them or close them as they please?—*The Australian Worker, January, 8, 1930.*

Better Than Patting Him on the Head?

The most stimulating reward that can be given a child is to put him, at least once in a while, with another child or children of his age or slightly older, that he may learn his own hidden desires and powers.—*Gladys Hoagland Groves, in Child Study, February, 1930.*

Coming

The time will come when the Christian world, honoring Jesus, will remember also to honor the people that produced Jesus, and when the Jew, forgetting the bitter memories against Christendom, will appreciate Jesus as a son of Israel, although he will never accept him as a son of God.—*Dr. Israel Goldstein in Appreciation, January, 1930.*

Mass to Gas

That stuff you can throw on the table and hear it clang is real stuff, but it is only Jesus and others who have caught his standard of values who ever think of the fine human values as transcending all others. It means, of course, that we throw ourselves against war as we have been doing. That in some way we may have a positive answer to those "winter" words of Thomas Hardy, which represent the discouraged and disillusioned feeling of many people, when he says, "After two thousand years of mass, we've got as far as poison gas."—*Halford E. Luccock, in The International Journal of Religious Education, February, 1930.*

Why Unintelligent Juries?

Why are these seventeen classes exempted from jury service?—Officiating clergymen not following any other calling; practicing physicians, surgeons or surgeon dentists; licensed pharmacists or pharmaceutists; registered veterinary surgeons; licensed embalmers; lawyers; college professors and public school teachers; editors, editorial writers, reporters and press association employees; federal, state, county and city office-holders; captains, engineers and other ship's officers and licensed ship's pilots; superintendents, conductors and engineers on all railroads except street railroads; telegraph operators; members of the National Guard and former members honorably discharged after five years' service; former members of the fire department and former members of fire companies of all kinds honorably discharged after five years' service; licensed engineers of steam boilers; all executives and employees of a State asylum for lunatics, idiots or habitual drunkards; all persons employed in a glass, cotton, linen, woolen or iron manufacturing company.—*Brooklyn Eagle, March 9, 1930.*

The Darkness Before Dawn in China

KIRBY PAGE

HISTORICAL perspective is required if one is to avoid pessimism and despair over the present situation in China. Everywhere we have encountered gloom and despondency. The cumulative evidence of abysmal misery and paralyzing strife is almost overwhelming.

Yet it is possible to find in the history of Europe striking parallels to most of China's woes. Civil war devastated that continent for centuries. Englishmen and Scotsmen many times fought ferociously. Until recent times banditry and highway robbery flourished over wide areas. Piracy was once an honored profession. English gentlemen gained fame and fortune by looting Spanish treasures. It is only sixty-five years since the people of the United States engaged in bloody warfare, brother against brother, and even more recently bandits terrorized whole regions.

Extreme poverty long prevailed among the masses of Europe. The sixteen-hour-day in factories was common during the early stages of the industrial revolution. Little girls of five and six were kept at monotonous work for upwards of twelve hours daily. Able-bodied men exhausted themselves for a wage barely sufficient to keep them and their families alive. Indeed, starvation could be avoided only by the combined earnings of the entire family. Famine and plague often scourged entire populations.

Literacy for a large proportion of the people is a modern achievement in any country. Ignorance and superstition characterized the masses of Europe until yesterday, and today they are still widely prevalent. Autocracy and dictatorship were normal in government over most of that continent for centuries and are far from unknown even now. Graft and corruption have been all but universal over long periods of time. Democracy still limps feebly in most countries.

Social convulsions have always been accompanied by chaos and strife. The Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the French Revolution, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the Family Revolution are all being combined in the titanic upheaval which is now tempestuously rocking all China. The old classical learning is being supplanted by scientific education, although the oldest university in China, St. John's in Shanghai, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary only a few months ago. Confucianism and Buddhism are threatened by materialism and agnosticism. Old moral standards and social customs are being loosened, with the result that liberty often leads to license.

The factory system and mass production are undermining the foundations of the old handicrafts. The ancient monarchy has been overthrown and a beginning is being made in representative government. Property interests and special privileges are menaced by increasing unrest. Communists are in control of certain regions, and their influence, although underground, is widespread in other parts of the country. The Nationalist Government is a dictatorship by the Kuomintang, the one legal party. The old system in which the individual was swallowed up in the family is being shattered by the assertion of personal rights and desires.

It is inevitable, therefore, that China will be in turmoil for many years to come. Six major revolutions are occurring simultaneously, but it is well to remember that there are in that country 400 million human beings—one-fourth of the entire human race! The effort to transform this vast population into a unified, educated, prosperous, and free nation is a staggering undertaking. It is highly imperative that the people of other lands should sympathetically understand the nature of the task confronting China's leaders during these troubled and crucial days.

The extent and degree of poverty in China is simply beyond comprehension. The recent report of the American Red Cross Commission points out that "30,000,000 Chinese are continually attempting to sustain life on less than the minimum required for subsistence"—for *subsistence*, not comfort or physical well-being. Many times this number are only a few days removed from extreme destitution. During the past two years the people of Shensi have been visited with "the most appallingly disastrous famine" known anywhere in China since 1876-77, to use the words of Grover Clark, special investigator for the China International Famine Relief Commission. Out of a population of six millions in one region, two millions starved to death in 1929, and two millions more are "practically certain" to die of hunger before the next harvest.

Even when the workers of urban communities are able to find regular employment, their standard of living is extremely low. The twelve-hour day is common and yet the daily wages in many cases do not exceed fifteen to twenty-five cents for men, five to fifteen cents for women, and three to five cents for children. A recent wage study in Hankow revealed an average monthly wage of less than seven dollars gold for men and less than four dollars for women, less than two

dollars for children. Since these were average figures, it is obvious that many fell far below. A recent study in Wusih showed that 80 per cent of the workers received from a minimum of two dollars to a maximum of seven dollars and fifty cents a month. In Tientsin shop girls receive as little as seventy-five cents to one dollar per month in addition to two meals a day and sleeping quarters in the shop.

Business has been extremely bad during recent months. Intermittent civil war, the interruption of railway traffic, brigandage, piracy, excessive taxation and the rapid decline in the value of silver have combined to produce a disastrous commercial and financial depression. Only a few business firms are making normal profits, while many are suffering heavy losses. Unemployment is excessively widespread.

HUMAN beings will usually resort to extreme measures rather than starve to death, so it is not surprising that many Chinese are now turning to brigandage, piracy, and soldiery as means of subsistence. Bands of brigands are operating over much of the country, sometimes as many as a hundred armed men being concentrated in one band. Piracy on China's rivers and off the coast is common. Kidnaping and holding for ransom is a frequent occurrence. Any general can secure all the soldiers he can feed. After defeat in battle many soldiers retain their rifles and take to brigandage.

Low wages and desperate economic need increase the temptation to dishonesty and graft. This pressure is intensified by the prevailing family system under which unemployed or destitute relatives descend upon a more fortunate member of the family. Moreover, "squeeze" or graft is so deeply engrained that there is no adequate public opinion against it, with the result that business and government alike are strangled. The sale of public offices and the farming out of taxes are widely prevalent.

Economic destitution is accentuated by the absence of a unified central government sufficiently powerful to maintain law and order. Nineteen years ago the monarchy was overthrown and the Chinese Republic established, but the central government has never had more than nominal authority over the whole country. Various provinces have been ruled by war lords or military dictators. Most of the population is illiterate and entirely lacking in political experience. Civil war has been waged in some part of China every year since 1911. Many towns and cities have been captured and looted a dozen times during this period. Successive military dictators have made exorbitant assessments upon merchants. Taxes have often been collected several times in one year. One general collected three years' taxes in advance! Military appropriations

year after year have consumed from 40 to 80 per cent of the national and provincial revenues. In 1923 military expenditures amounted to 94 per cent of the revenues in Hupeh Province and 84 per cent in Honan.

China's railways at best are utterly inadequate, the total mileage being only 7,000, as contrasted with 275,000 in the United States. Civil war has at frequent intervals completely demoralized railway traffic. Tracks have been torn up and bridges destroyed, rolling stock has been carried away, and other railway resources have been confiscated. River navigation has likewise been disastrously interfered with. Lack of facilities to transport food has greatly increased the peril of starvation in famine regions.

NOTHING is easier than to draw a dismal picture of prevailing conditions in China. The visible evidence is such as to warrant apprehensions and forebodings of evil days ahead. On the other hand, the situation is by no means hopeless. If China had a stable government, her citizens would rebound with amazing vitality. The Chinese have an incredible capacity to survive under adverse circumstances and they possess marvelous recuperative powers. In the lulls between military campaigns business recovers with great rapidity. Canton, for example, has been one of the storm centers ever since the 1911 revolution, yet we were astonished to discover that a new city is being created. Streets are being widened and paved. Modern office buildings are being erected. An automatic telephone system has been installed and is functioning efficiently. Highways connecting the city with outlying regions are being constructed. Motor buses and automobiles are increasing rapidly in number. Faster steamers are operating in the rivers.

Substantial progress is being made not merely in Canton but in many other communities. Persons from widely scattered regions have told us that highway construction is being pushed forward steadily in spite of adverse conditions. In June of last year the National Good Roads Association reported that there were 20,973 miles of improved road in China, with 3,764 miles under construction. The National Ministry of Railways has an extensive program of new construction which only awaits the cessation of civil war. Regular air service is now maintained between Shanghai and Hankow, via Nanking, and there is reason to believe that within another decade air service will operate between all important centers throughout the country.

China possesses natural resources and man-power sufficient to increase the standard of living substantially if peace could be maintained. Vast reserves of

coal and other ores are awaiting exploitation. The Chinese are among the most industrious and thrifty people to be found anywhere. All over the Far East they are competing successfully with men of other races. Chinese merchants have achieved an enviable record for honesty and integrity.

If China could only secure a unified, stable government her citizens would achieve wonders. If! If! And the prospects may be better than the surface evidence seems to indicate. When all the factors are taken into account, extraordinary progress has been made during the last two decades. Twenty years is only one two-hundredth of China's span of recorded history. In 1911 the spirit of national patriotism was confined chiefly to students and intellectual classes who rallied about Sun Yat-sen. Generous contributions from Chinese merchants in foreign countries helped to make a success of the revolution against the Manchus. It was not until the Twenty-one Demands of Japan in 1915 and the Shantung clause of the Treaty of Versailles, however, that Chinese merchants as a class were aroused. The Hongkong Seaman's Strike in 1922 and the Shanghai shooting of May 30, 1925, awakened masses of Chinese laborers. Communist agitation, propaganda of the Kuomintang, and the victorious march of the Southern armies to Peking have aroused multitudes of peasant farmers. It is easy to point out that national consciousness and the spirit of patriotism are still confined to a small percentage of the population. But the important fact is the rate of growth.

NATIONALISM is being zealously taught in all the schools of China. Dr. Sun Yat-sen is rapidly being canonized, as is Lenin in Russia. His picture appears everywhere. His will is read at least once each week in every school and at all formal public gatherings, followed by three minutes of silent meditation. His three principles—nationalism, democracy and socialism—are taught in all high schools and colleges by special instructors who are always members of the Kuomintang. Sun Yat-sen's tomb on the side of the Purple Mountain near Nanking is becoming a national shrine. The personality and principles of the first President of the Chinese Republic are undoubtedly proving to be a highly important factor in the unification of China.

Already the spirit of nationalism is strong enough to compel the foreign powers to restore tariff autonomy. Shantung and Weihaiwei have been returned to China. Most of the powers are remitting their shares of the Boxer Indemnity. Foreign post offices have been removed. The Mixed Courts at Shanghai have been turned over to the Chinese authorities. Chinese citizens are being given increased representation in the

government of the International Settlement of Shanghai.

Much against their wishes and judgment, the foreign powers are also being compelled to give up extraterritoriality. A high official of one of these foreign powers expressed the opinion that life and property will not be safe in China "for fifty or sixty years." And when we asked if extraterritorial rights will be maintained until security is assured, he replied in language more blunt than elegant: "Hell, no! Extraterritoriality cannot last much longer. The Chinese won't wait."

The rapid rise and extension of nationalism in China is a fact of the utmost significance. If the present pace is maintained for another decade or two, it may be strong enough to unify the various provinces into a strong central government. The people are sick of civil strife, and a beginning has been made in the formation of an articulate public opinion against the war lords. The Nanking Government safely passed three serious crises last year. At the moment of writing it is not clear whether it can successfully resist the coalition against it.

ATTEMPTING to predict the future course of events in this country is a hazardous procedure. Competent observers are sharply divided in their opinions as to what is likely to happen. In the South and in the Yangtse valley the prevailing belief is that Chiang Kai-shek will emerge victorious since he is better equipped with munitions and money. In the North we found many persons who believe that the present Nanking Government will be overthrown and replaced by one in which Governor Yen and General Feng will be the dominant figures. Still other students of the situation think that it will be impossible to maintain a unified central government and that the country will be ruled regionally, with perhaps three or four competing governments operating in various sections.

My own guess is that the present administration in Nanking is the best one available and that any change will be for the worse. Its faults and failures are numerous and conspicuous. Nevertheless, it has a record of substantial achievement. The financial report recently issued by the Minister of Finance shows that the budget might have been balanced last year except for excessive military appropriations. If a breathing spell could be secured, drastic reductions in the amounts squandered on civil war would make available larger sums for education, railways, highways and other constructive enterprises. The adoption of a budget system in all departments of the national and provincial governments and the installation of a more efficient method of accounting would substantially decrease the amount of "squeeze." Now that tariff autonomy has been recovered, an improve-

ment in business conditions will mean larger revenues for constructive purposes. If peace were established, the government could more adequately cope with banditry and piracy. This achievement in turn would increase the economic welfare of the people and thus strengthen the government. Five years of security would witness amazing progress.

It may be that the spirit of nationalism is not yet strong enough to do its unifying work in China, but the people loathe civil war and the day will probably come when the articulate portion of the country, supported by the impoverished and desperate masses, will rally to the support of the central government and enable it to devote its energies to constructive enterprises. If this fails to happen, then we may be sure that communism will again become an important factor in the situation. The soil of extreme misery, warfare, and chaos is one in which communism grows most rapidly. Communism and the war lords are thus competing with the spirit of nationalism for control of China. My own impression is that com-

munist cannot permanently dominate the country because of the temperaments, customs and institutions of the people. Those parts of China which have been temporarily controlled by communists during recent years are the regions where opposition to communism is most pronounced. The growth of the national spirit is likely to be accelerated by the present course of events. Necessity and desperation are stern teachers. The record of nationalism in Japan, Turkey, and elsewhere furnishes a basis for hope that it will yet unify China and make possible the concentration of governmental activities upon the improvement of the people's livelihood, the third of Sun Yat-sen's principles.

The darkest hours come before the dawn. China's night may linger or even become blacker; the morning may prove to be stormy; decades will probably pass before the brilliance of the noonday sun is visible; but there is reason to believe that the splendor of a new era will yet burst upon the ancient Celestial Kingdom.

An Adventure in Religious Coöperation

PIER D. ALDERSHOF

TO teach religion to students whose religious views differ radically and whose training has been along substantially different lines may seem exceedingly difficult; yet it is not an impossible task, as has been demonstrated on the University of Iowa campus. In this midwestern seat of learning, Jew, Catholic, and Protestant absorb religious instruction in the same classroom and have the privilege of listening to a professor whose theology and religious training have been different from their own. No attempt is made, however, to convert the student to the theological ideas and beliefs of the instructor.

One of the most noticeable points about this religious adventure is the perfect harmony with which the three professors, a Jew, a Catholic, and a Protestant, work with the director of the new school of religion. Each one has an office not more than ten feet from the other, and convenient within the reach of all is a conference room where the problems of school and classroom are discussed.

The organization of this school did not happen overnight. Instead it is the result of long and painstaking labor on the part of a college president, a dean of the liberal arts college, and several representatives of the American Association on Religion. This group, meeting with a specially appointed committee of the faculty of the University of Iowa, worked out a plan for the establishment of the first school of religion of

its kind in a university, which received the sanction of the State Board of Education.

After preliminary arrangements had been made, the President of the University, Dr. Walter A. Jessup, asked various church groups of the state to appoint electors who would meet and select a board of trustees. The first board thus chosen consisted of nine representatives from the church groups and six from the University. This Board of Trustees then formulated a constitution for the newly created School of Religion and elected as administrative director, Dr. M. Willard Lampe, who had been in charge of the university work of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

Following the selection of a director, it became necessary to find a suitable faculty, a body of instructors who would not only possess the necessary scholastic requirements but would be in thorough sympathy with the ideals of the new school. In the summer of 1927 three such men were elected. The Jewish professor was Dr. Maurice A. Farbridge, noted English scholar and writer; the Catholic professor was Dr. Henry G. Takkenberg, of the faculty of a Catholic institution in Davenport, Iowa; and the Protestant professor was Dr. Charles A. Hawley, at that time professor in a Y. M. C. A. college. Each of these men was well acquainted with student life and student problems. Since the organization of the school, the

Catholic professor has resigned his position because of too heavy demands upon his time, and his place has been filled by the Rev. Father J. Elliot Ross, Ph.D., who came to the Iowa institution from Columbia University, where he had been chaplain to Catholic students as well as a lecturer. When the Jewish member of the faculty resigned, another well qualified man was found in the person of Dr. Moses Jung, director of the Hillel Foundation at a midwestern university.

WITH the opening of the school, there arose at once a real problem: religion could not be made a required subject. The Iowa State Board of Education would not permit this. Consequently the courses in religion were listed in the catalogue the same as elective courses in language or science. However, the response by the students was gratifying, and at the beginning of the second year 200 young men and women had registered for courses in the school.

The most remarkable thing about this new adventure in religious coöperation is that it has received no sensational publicity and has not been accompanied by ballyhoo methods. Everything has been done in scholarly and dignified fashion, with the result that the school is now recognized and accepted on the Iowa campus just as all other colleges and departments of the university.

The work it offers is diversified. Each student will find in the curriculum courses designed to meet his particular needs and interests. Among them are the following: History of Religion, Comparative Religion, Old Testament History, Life and Teachings of Jesus, Early Christian Church, Christian Ethics, Religion and Society, Hebrew, Archeology, Religious Education, and Religion and Modern Thought.

Such courses would seem at first glance to correspond to what is taught in seminaries; yet in many ways they are widely different from the curriculum that is required of theologians. The courses offered by the new school of religion are all elementary and introductory. However, they have a genuine appeal for certain students many of whom are planning to use the training and information they receive in the field of religious education or some other practical church work. A considerable number of young people enroll for the courses in order to discover the place and significance of religion in modern life, and to orientate it with their other college work.

THE aim of the new institution is not to propagate religious dogmas and theological doctrines, but to let religion speak for itself, to let the student examine for himself what religion is and what vital contributions it has to make both to his own life and to the life of the world in general. This of course means that the student has to do a great deal of selecting of

materials and sorting out of ideas, inasmuch as those propounded by the professors do not always harmonize. As Dr. Lampe once said: "*We expect and respect our differences.*"

The school is in operation not only during the nine months of the college year, but during the last two years it has also been conducted during the summer sessions.

It is interesting to know that this new venture in religious coöperation is not supported by the taxpayers of the state. The Constitution of Iowa does not permit this. However, the Board of Trustees of the school has approved the plan whereby each religious group supports its member of the faculty. The Jewish professor receives his salary through the Jewish constituency, the Catholic priest receives his remuneration from the Catholics of the state, and the Protestant professor is paid by the various constituent Protestant groups. The administrator's salary is also taken care of by private contributions.

That the work of the school meets with public approval has been attested more than once. Last year the Rockefeller Foundation saw fit to renew its grant to the school and gave \$60,000 to be divided over a period of three years and to be used for administrative expenses of the institution.

The enrollment in the various classes has substantially grown and the school is becoming better known throughout the United States every year as more and more graduates of the University of Iowa go out in the world and tell about the unique enterprise in which Catholics, Jews, and Protestants work together, and where the word of a Jewish rabbi is as much respected as that of a Catholic priest, or a Lutheran, Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Congregational minister.

Sabbath Morning

LIT candles frame the altar in the gloom
Of heaven-searching arches; sacred chords
Peal from the organ; then the solemn words
Of One who made a glory of a tomb
Fall from the lips of the rich-robed priest.
Words often heard, by all acknowledged wise:
"He shall by no means enter Paradise
Who proves unkind to one of these the least."
(In the bright street outside, with oath and jeer,
A comely girl is ousted from a car—
Careless, she sat ahead one seat too far—
"We won't have any—niggers here!")
The priest drones on, "This truth, dear friends,
receive."

No one has seen the weeping Jesus leave.

MARY A. HURD

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

Patriotism

"Patriotism" is the willingness to kill and be killed for trivial reasons.—*Bertrand Russell, Sceptical Essays, p. 184.*

Youth vs. Age

Humanity really knows very little about its most basic and impressive experiences. Friendship, love, beauty, courage, sympathy, idealism, imagination—qualities which outlast and rise superior to all nations and civilizations—belong to youth quite as much as to age.—*Clarence Cook Little, The Awakening College, p. 272.*

Who Pays?

The war inflation had run its course and somebody had to pay for it. Who but the unorganized and helpless slaves of the soil? It was quite simple—merely that when the time came to move the crops, the Federal Reserve Board ordered its member banks to raise the discount rate on loans in the farming country.—*Upton Sinclair, Mountain City, p. 42.*

This Material Age

There are only a few things in our highly materialized age for the spiritual integrity of which one should continue to fight. Most of our aims and activities have bowed the knee to Baal and have chained themselves hand and foot to elaborate organizations for the purpose of self-expression and self-perpetuation.—*Clarence Cook Little, The Awakening College, p. 178.*

Rational Human Beings

We can be reverent, high-minded, law-abiding, but as rational beings we must be also critical. True living is always asking of life why, how and what? Nothing has value to us apart from its meaning, i.e., its significance, its purpose, its outcome. Faith is synthetic, criticism is analytical. Truth is satisfied with authority; reason asks for credentials.—*Alfred W. Hall-Quest, It's Not Our Fault, p. 166.*

Christianity and the Industrial Revolution

It has been said that with Christianity an immense hope traversed the world. With the Industrial Revolution another hope as immense dawned, and has been growing ever since. It still remains only a hope, and that is why it has produced a growing exasperation; for the mass of mankind will not forego it when once they have seen it. And they are peculiarly exasperated with religion, because religion, professing to come from Him who used those words about the rich man, tells them that their hope is merely material and so baseless, that they must find a compensation for it in despair of this world, and the expectation of another.—*A. Clutton-Brock, Essays on Life, p. 157.*

Capitalist Liberty

Advocates of Capitalism are very apt to appeal to the sacred principles of liberty which are all embodied in one maxim: *The fortunate must not be restrained in the exercise of tyranny over the unfortunate.*—*Bertrand Russell, Sceptical Essays, p. 178.*

The Folly of Capital Punishment

No life is equal to another life. The death of a miserable gunman for the murder of a great leader does not establish an equation. The mere hanging of a murderer whose crime was far more brutal than his penalty certainly does not spell justice.—*Alfred W. Hall-Quest, It's Not Our Fault, p. 130.*

The Function of Skeptics

Nothing is healthier in a republic than a cantankerous faction of skeptics, as nothing is more unwholesome in a republic than an overwhelming spirit of veneration for one man. By such means nearly all republics have been changed to tyrannies.—*Rupert Hughes, George Washington, Vol. III, p. 252.*

Our Duty

The United States should, through an offer of debt cancellation and other salutary measures make every effort to entice Europe into an attitude of sanity, understanding, and forgiveness. This would most certainly involve a thoroughgoing revision of the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, and the elimination of German reparations.—*Harry Elmer Barnes, World Politics in Modern Civilization, p. 595.*

Getting Hooked

When a trout rising to a fly gets hooked on a line and finds itself unable to swim about freely, it begins a fight which results in struggles and splashes. . . . In the same way the human being struggles with his environment and with the hooks that catch him. . . . Sooner or later most of us get hooked. How much of a fight we have on our hands then depends on the hook, and, of course, on us.—*Karl A. Menninger, The Human Mind, p. 3.*

Wait Till After Easter!

A pious Christian woman wrote this letter to Meyer London on the eve of the declaration of war (1917):

"Will you as a Jew, standing for everything that is righteous, appeal to the Christian men in the House of Representatives not to bring criticism upon America by declaring war in Holy Week? This is Holy Thursday, tomorrow Good Friday, and Sunday is Easter. Wait to declare war until after the Easter anthems are sung. Peace on Earth; Good Will Towards Men."—*H. Rogoff, An East Side Epic, p. 110.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Going Abroad: in Fact or Fancy

MAYBE you're really going, or maybe you will travel by means of books alone. In either case, there are new books you can not wisely overlook. The Baedekers and Muirheads are all right in their way and for an actual traveler may often be indispensable; but they have an irritating habit of listing only top-price hotels, and they certainly gum up their pages with a lot of sights that to say the least are hardly of cosmic importance. Did the writers of these volumes ever hear of a labor movement, a peace society, a workingman, a student group or—one almost wonders—a human being?

You will not want to miss the sprightly little booklet issued by the International Confederation of Students, the *Handbook of Student Travel in Europe*, obtainable from the National Student Federation, 218 Madison Avenue, New York City, for \$1.00. Even if you're not a student any longer, you will be glad to know that you can get by comfortably with a *casse-croute* at a *brasserie* as well as more expensively nibbling *paté de foie gras* in some swell restaurant. There is always Mrs. So-and-So's friendly, clean, and cheap boarding house in London and, in fact, a heap of information about trains, food, study groups, interesting institutions, and what-not in every European land. Even a good map!

Honestly, though, I wouldn't plunge into even an easy-chair trip without an earnest perusal of Paul M. Mazur's book, *America Looks Abroad*, a Viking Press product, (\$3.00). American dollars have penetrated far in advance of you, and the world effect is something to tell the folks back home. . . . Cornelia Stratton Parker has written a delightful travel history of Europe, elaborately and fascinatingly illustrated, which makes the past come alive right under the feet of wayfarers. It sells for \$4.00, Horace Liveright says, but it's a big book; and as for its being merely for boys and girls—well, I've got over being ashamed of liking young books long ago. And this one is simply superb, if you *do* happen to be in your teens.

They knock England's climate, but of course you'll go there. A novel book is *America's England*, by M. V. Hughes, (Morrow, \$2.50), which tackles chiefly the places Americans want to know about. No, it's not all for one hundred per cent Americans either; for instance, there's the burial place of William Penn out beyond Rickmansworth. This fellow Hughes even has a comic vein, and at times he is actually funny. Personally, I buy as little as possible, there or here, but you'll have to have rubbers for the boys and Aunt Minnie will expect some exotic gift, so you might like Thelma H. Benjamin's *Shopping Guide to London*, (McBride, \$2.00). . . . For really pleasant and rambling moments, I'd never fail to go loaded with the new reprint of a fine, mellow old book—Katherine Lee Bates's *From Gretna Green to Land's End*, (Crowell, \$3.50). It's a literary and scenic journey combined, and

that is the way I've always thought literature should be taken. . . . Nobody reading this journal will want to be ignorant of the labor movement's background, and so I suggest *From Chartism to Labourism*, by Th. Rothstein, (International Publishers, \$2.50). It is a bit leftist, but that won't hurt you; you can take it or leave it alone.

France, a Nation of Patriots comes out clearly as an example of extreme nationalism permeating an entire people, as Carlton J. H. Hayes brings to bear his experienced pen. This is a remarkable book, and you would be mighty superficial to say anything about France until you've read it. Columbia University Press brings it out, at \$4.50. Charles Guignebert's *Short History of the French People*, (Macmillan, \$15.00) is in two volumes, and I for one am thankful that he didn't write a long one. First, because he isn't any too lively, and second, because I feel the publishers have already charged too much. But it really does fill you up with valuable knowledge.

Frank Schoonmaker's *Come with Me Through France* actually makes me want to, and the way he points out the less costly methods of getting about makes me almost think I could do it—which is more than I'd say for most guidebooks. He has an older book called *Through Europe on Two Dollars a Day*, but I've heard 't'aint so—that since he wrote it things have begun to cost more. But it's a truly charming book, written not by a snob but a *bona fide* traveler who wants to mingle with plain people, does, and survives. McBride publishes his books at \$2.00 each.

Thus it is Schoonmaker who has just issued the second best book on Germany (including Austria). *Come with Me Through Germany* is a true *vade mecum*, whatever that is, even if it does betray less familiarity than the earlier books. . . . Clara E. Laughlin writes for the uppercrust too much to suit humble me; yet her new book, *So You're Going to Germany and Austria!*, (Houghton Mifflin, \$4.00), is mighty live and human. . . . But it remained for good old Herr Louis Untermeyer to turn off the most unusual piece of all: *Blue Rhine, Black Forest*. Harcourt, Brace will accept \$2.50 for this, and if you ever go anywhere near the Rhine, or did, or plan to—here's a feast. Practical, full of fun, frank, containing good reading as well as information, this is a gem; and it is good for the right reason, namely, that Untermeyer really loves the place he is bringing you to.

Traveling Light, by M. H. Harrigan, is a new opus in a well known series. This one, published by Brentano's for \$2.00, takes up various practicable brief tours in Southeastern France, Switzerland, and Northern Italy. . . . Houghton Mifflin has also issued, for \$3.00, a pleasantly slow-moving book on the *Hill Towns of Italy*, by Egerton R. Williams, Jr. . . . Frankly, I'm hot for art, but I'm cold for Mussolini, and not much warmer after reading *Capital and Labor Under Fascism*, a careful study by Carmen Haider, (Columbia University Press, \$4.50). For any intelligent

ignoramus, the blue Bay of Naples and côte d'Azur are not just places; they are doorsteps of Mussolini and Briand.

There is much that might come in here, but perhaps we are already travel-weary. However, if we are modern-minded at all, we shall have to tarry a while in the U. S. S. R., and four new books are of great value here. William Henry Chamberlin's *Soviet Russia* is one of the very best ever issued—fair, yet not uncritical. I've known Chamberlin for years, and the good writing he has done on Russia is the chief compensation for his absence from our own country. His excellent book is put out by Little, Brown & Co. and sells for \$5.00. . . . If you can stand important figures without quailing, do get hold of Saul G. Bron's *Soviet Economic Development and American Business*, (Horace Liveright, \$1.50). This contains the results to date of the famous five-year plan and "further perspective." It is a competent view, and the statistics are highly revealing about the inevitableness of foreign trade for Russia. . . . Be certain to dip your nose into Gorki's new novel, *Bystander*. I'm still going through it, and I am prepared to say it is one of the great, colossal in scope and powerful in its slow-moving pathos. This first volume is \$3.00, from Cape and Smith. . . . A survey of modern Soviet literature, edited by Joseph Freeman, Joshua Kunitz, and Louis Lozowik, is entitled *Voices of October, Art and Literature in Soviet Russia*. This is a greatly needed work, and although it becomes a little cataloguish at times, it is informing where all but universal ignorance exists. Vanguard sells it for \$4.00.

Of course, you can readily perceive that, after buying such an outfit of books as this, nobody could possibly go to Europe. Well, borrow them then; or buy them and stay at home until next year. Here, I submit, is a young college education, and far less painful than the one I got. But enough. Let's be on our way. . . .

EXODUS

Justice in Class-War Time

IN their report to the 1924 convention of the American Federation of Labor (probably written by Samuel Gompers), the members of the executive council expressed themselves as follows regarding the American judiciary:

Because the judiciary is the least responsible branch of the government, the reactionary interests have conducted their attacks on the rights of the individuals and on labor organizations mainly through the courts, as well as strengthening their defense against legislation demanded by the people. The exercise of the power of the courts in industrial disputes has become a menace to our institutions and to the practices of free men.

If anyone wishes to know how the patriotic and anti-Socialist A. F. of L. "got that way," let him turn to *The Labor Injunction*, by Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene. The volume is one of the most needed and helpful works in the labor field. It is written simply by men who know whereof they speak. If Samuel Gompers had not fought the Socialists so vehemently for forty years, it is possible that there would have been today a more powerful labor movement on the industrial and the political field which would not speak so softly as the authors of the work under review. But they, of course, are pleading with dignified judges, lawyers, law professors, and conservative laymen. The five chapters and the seven appendices tell us all there is to be told within the compass of one work of such size. There

is an admirable opening chapter on the allowable area of economic conflict which clearly indicates the advanced and pro-labor point of view of the authors. There follows a lucid presentation of the procedure and proof underlying labor injunctions, their scope and enforcement, the history of remedial legislation and, finally, the arguments for a proposed federal bill which either is the same or very close to the one adopted by the Toronto (1929) convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The fourth chapter on legislation affecting labor injunctions ought to be illuminating to good citizens who decry radicalism. The Debs injunction was issued in 1894. The Clayton Act was passed twenty years later. And today, sixteen years after "Labor's Magna Charta," the A. F. of L. is still clamoring for relief from "government by injunction." After accurately reporting the decisions of the highest court, Messrs. Frankfurter and Greene reveal a little inconsistency in their confident hope for the acceptance of their point of view and specific suggestions by judges who have shot holes through every bit of remedial legislation so far. Why should the judges act any differently unless political power shifts appreciably from the few to the many? In the dedicatory note to Mr. Justice Brandeis, the authors say that for this judge "law is not a system of artificial reason, but the application of ethical ideals with freedom at the core." How are ethical ideals determined in an industrial society such as ours? And how does any class win and re-win its freedom?

The authors have contributed a great service to the labor movement by their exhaustive study. The average official of any faction of the labor movement will probably not even hear of its existence, much less read it. And there's the rub. The separation of the industrial and political phases of the movement, the ostracism of the intellectuals, the opportunist and bread-and-butter philosophy of the A. F. of L., the dogmatism of the "lunatic fringe" of the radical movement, and the general indifference in America to ideas and ideals are, of course, largely responsible. Works such as *The Labor Injunction* ought to be written by those directly attached to the labor movement. There ought to be genuine free inquiry in the working-class world. Whenever there is, we shall have a growing literature of, by, and for the workers, a literature which will be increasingly read by the rank and file, to say nothing of the higher and lower officials. (Published by Macmillan. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$5.00 postpaid.)

NATHAN FINE

War Chronicles

NEITHER William T. Scanlon's *God Have Mercy on Us* nor Mary Lee's *It's a Great War* is strictly speaking a novel, despite the fact that they shared the \$25,000 prize offered by the Houghton Mifflin Company and the American Legion Monthly for the best novel based on the World War. The first is simply a matter-of-fact, impersonal account by a marine sergeant who saw service at Verdun, Belleau Wood, St. Mihiel, and Soissons. One wonders why the book was awarded a prize when Boyd, Dos Passos and other Americans have done the same thing far more vividly and realistically. Perhaps the judges felt that such a he-man enterprise as the late war deserves at least one more male raconteur.

Miss Lee's book, on the other hand, comes near inviting superlatives. Though it might be criticized because of its length—its meticulous concern with details, its staccato and at times repetitive style—*It's a Great War* is one of the most compre-

hensive, absorbing, and unflattering pictures of America at war that has yet been written. It records the experiences of Anne Wentworth who served her country as secretary to a major in a Bordeaux hospital, as a civilian employee of the American military in Paris, and later as director of a Y. M. C. A. hut at the front. After the Armistice, she accompanied the Army of Occupation into Germany where she had charge of canteens in several towns. The old adage about a looker-on seeing most of the game would seem particularly true in the case of war. The woman war worker, fresh from the United States, full of enthusiasm and war-to-end-war idealism, found her position in France admirably suited to giving her a ring-side view of what war really is—the chicanery, political intrigue, and debauchery prevalent among both officers and enlisted men, the hypocrisy, sordid greed, and mercenary motives that inspired the uplift hangers-on whose activities were in many cases merely a vicarious satisfaction of sadistic impulses. It is not a pretty picture, and Miss Lee's characterization has an uncomfortably authentic ring.

The fact that the author probably did not intend her book as a polemic against war in no way lessens its effect. The most forceful chapters are the closing ones in which we perceive as never before the terrific break-down of morale that came as an aftermath to nearly all who had a part in the glorious crusade, the weakening of personal standards, the spiritual and moral disintegration to which after the war the "lost generation" fell victim.

Neither the Y. M. C. A. nor the American Army emerges in any very favorable light, and it is small wonder that the D. A. R. as well as the American Legion have denounced the book, the latter organization having given emphasis to its proscription by ousting the author from its membership. (Both books published by Houghton Mifflin. *God Have Mercy on Us*, \$2.50; *It's a Great War*, \$3.00. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, postpaid.)

G. E. M.

Idealism and a Third Party

THE pamphlet *Why a Political Realignment*, by Paul H. Douglas, is concerned largely with the reasons why the liberals of America should cease philandering with the Republican and Democratic parties and turn their energy to setting up a political party of their own. There is little to quarrel with in the substance of the arguments advanced. Some liberals, it is true, still cling to the hope of the capture and reform of one of the old parties, but most will agree with Mr. Douglas that the disadvantages of such procedure are great. As he points out, such policy "generally results during presidential elections in a considerable cancelling of votes cast by men and women who think similarly but who, for strategic reasons, are affiliated in different states with different political parties." Moreover, the argument that labor and the progressives can hold the balance of power over the old parties is far more true of capital with its powerful organization and ample funds. Mr. Douglas also illustrates the fact that when labor trades its vote for the partial support of its program, it often means in practice voting for unworthy candidates. Finally, the boring-from-within policy fails to educate the masses of people to the need of fundamental changes in our economic and political life. Only a permanent organization can do that.

Mr. Douglas raises but does not adequately deal with the question of why economic progressives cannot find in the Socialist party the machinery they need—particularly since the prerequisite for membership, according to the new Socialist Constitution, is

only "belief in the democratization of industry and in independent political action by the workers of hand and brain." Moreover, the author maintains that in the last national election, the Socialist party's candidates and platform "represented the very best spirit of progressive economic thought. But what, then, will be the difference between the Socialists and the L. I. P. A. in program, in method, or in underlying philosophy? Mr. Douglas suggests that the Socialists, whose steady growth he hopes for, will be to the League for Independent Political Action what the I. L. P. has been to the Labour Party of Great Britain, but such a suggestion does not answer our question.

The program for the new party includes the protection of workers through social insurance; increased taxation for social use; public ownership and operation of strategic industries; the freeing of labor from unfair legal restrictions; farm relief chiefly through removal of high tariffs on manufactured goods; a strong and liberal foreign policy; the re-organization of the judicial system. To these specific measures most liberals will again assent. But the disturbing fact is that in the assent there will be so little genuine emotion or enthusiasm. If we face the situation honestly, we must admit an enormous amount of inertia among American liberals in regard to their political affiliations. One reason for this is that so many of the most absorbing interests today are outside of politics, in the world of the arts and recreation, in the field of personal and sexual relations, in the complex and fascinating problems of education. These concerns seem more vital to many Americans than the injustices of the economic and legal order. Yet art and education and the possibility of fine personal relations can be properly maintained and shared by everyone only if the social order is sound and healthy at heart. The most important question for the new party is whether it can formulate a philosophy which will stimulate liberals to corporate activity. Surely the mere repetition of well-worn economic planks will never do this. It must frankly and without fear change its terms of reference. It must build upon the recognition that our fundamental needs are intellectual, social and spiritual. It must not pretend that economic machinery is more than an instrumentality, a means to a different kind of goal. No party in America has ever dared to incorporate a fraction of the idealism which breathes through almost every speech and pamphlet of the British Labour party. We are so caught by our materialism that we are afraid to speak in other terms. But if a party should arise with the courage to recognize that man lives by more than bread, it might win the support of men and women of insight and sensitiveness who are now seeking to escape from the world of politics because it is a world in which they cannot feel at home. (Order from the League for Independent Political Action, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. 22 pages. 10 cents per copy; 50 cents per dozen; \$3.00 per hundred.)

HELEN EVERETT

Surveying the South

TWO recent pamphlets on Southern textile labor afford an interesting and in a sense a surprising contrast.

The groups supporting the Communist union in its organization work in cotton mills in the South have brought out a study by Myra Page, entitled *Southern Cotton Mills and Labor*. In the first part of her one hundred pages, Miss Page gives a calm and apparently irrefutable picture of Southern workers and their surroundings. It is colorful but at the same time not propagandistic and, in the opinion of the reviewer, the most true and satisfactory

statement of the actual situation that has yet appeared. There are a few inaccuracies but no deliberate misrepresentation.

The United Textile Workers of America, the A. F. of L. union, has brought out a reprint of the set of articles written by Sinclair Lewis for the Scripps-Howard newspapers and entitled, *Cheap and Contented Labor*. Here, on almost every page, there is a "smarty" account that leads one to doubt whether the writer could have had the kind of human relations with mill people which Myra Page had, and which gives such strong assurance to what she has written. Sinclair Lewis has done a sort of caricature of the Marion strike and, when taken as such, is worth reading because a caricature frequently brings out sharply points which a true picture misses. One should know, however, that the pages are spotted with half-truths and misstatements that strain one's confidence in the author's information and understanding, even though one grants his unerring sense for the genuine drama of industrial conflict. (*Southern Cotton Mills and Labor* published by Workers Library Publishers, 25 cents. *Cheap and Contented Labor* distributed by Women's Trade Union League, Philadelphia, Pa., 25 cents. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop postpaid.)

ELIZABETH WEBB

Why Men Leave Rome

TYRANNIES live by suppression and by concealment. Once they emerge from their haunts of darkness into the light where they may be examined, discussed, evaluated, and criticized, their day is generally past. Public attention focussed on Siberian prisons, the Belgian Congo, the Neapolitan terror, the pogroms of Kishinev and other places, the Bulgarian atrocities, the Armenian massacres, to cite a few examples, brought an end to these horrors or put their perpetrators outside the pale of civilized peoples.

Slowly but persistently light is being shed on the black shadow that is Fascist Italy. For years travelers have been returning from that country hymning the praise of the *Duce* and his Blackshirts. Mussolini was the man of destiny who was creating the new Italy, the new Roman Empire. Former Congressmen wrote books advising us to rebuild our government at once according to the model evolved by this great statebuilder. Even Bernard Shaw joined in the chorus of adulation. But there was other news available for those who would have it. The murders of Matteotti and Amendola opened many eyes. Salvemini tore the mask from the falsehood and exposed the legends of the glorious march on Rome, the rescue of Italy from Bolshevism, the economic prosperity of the country, etc. Then an American newspaperman was expelled from Italy for reporting facts. Edmondo Peluso barely escaped with his life to Russia and told his story. Nitti, former Premier, fled to Paris where a whole colony of exiles were living.

And now Francesco Nitti has written *Escape*. Fortunately, for him and his publishers, threats were made against the publisher if he dared issue the book. This publicity will insure to it the sale it deserves. Young Nitti's story is that of his arrest by the Fascisti and his banishment without trial to Mussolini's Devil's Island, whence he with two friends made a spectacular escape last year. The story is simply and calmly told and is for that reason all the more effective. In its course it reveals the whole widespread system of espionage, suppression, disregard of civil and personal rights, and shocking brutalities by which Mussolini rules Italy. And significantly enough the people that suffer are the intelligent democrats from the universities and from the former

parliament, together with local leaders who do not believe that Mussolini is god or the Fascisti his prophets. The readers of the book will certainly agree with these political prisoners. (Published by Putnam. Through the World Tomorrow Book Shop \$2.50, postpaid.)

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

The Quest of the Ages

AMONG the theologians of naturalistic religion, now commonly called humanism, Eustace Haydon is one of the most brilliant. He is also one of the most benign. Professor of comparative religion at Chicago, he has learned to survey with sympathy and understanding the quest of man as it expresses itself in the world's great religions. Without any confidence that religion has sources of knowledge assuring man of support for his enterprise except what he experiences in his everyday existence, the author of *The Quest of the Ages*, nevertheless believes in the value of the religious approach to life's problems and in the resource of religion for man's ethical task. He wants a complete break with the past, but there is in his thinking none of that sophomoric iconoclasm which marks some of the louder humanists. The religion of the past is not illusion to him but an imaginative grasp of the character of life in which imagination was not sufficiently controlled by a scientific knowledge of the facts. Now that we know what science has taught us, we must learn that if we can not hope we need not despair. The question for Professor Haydon is whether the institutions and leaders of religion will break sufficiently with the past and adjust themselves to the contemporary world so that they may again become interpreters of man's highest ideals and his guide to the good life. (Published by Harpers. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.00 postpaid.)

R. N.

Green Pastures

THEATRICAL and literary circles in New York are hailing the play of Marc Connelly as the dramatic sensation of the season. *The Green Pastures* is a drama of Negro religion based on the inimitable Bible tales as told by Roark Bradford in his book, *Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun*. The stories, which are put into the mouth of a Negro parson, combine the rich humor and quaint imagination of the old-time Southern colored man. But Mr. Connelly does more than dramatize these stories. He recaptures the warmth and beauty of Negro faith so that the playgoer has for his enjoyment not only the chuckles which reward the reader of the book, but a sense of awe for the dignity with which simple men meet the ultimate mysteries of life. Even this achievement does not exhaust the virtue of the drama. Somehow the dramatist transcends the childlike simplicity of naive believers and makes the play speak a universal language. It is the story of God in his relation to men, the theme being that if God loves he must also suffer. Although the story of unreflective religion is told "in terms of its believers," a modern note is insinuated. God, in the person of a kindly Negro preacher, is pictured as learning from the social experience of his people. To attempt such a dramatic device without risking sacrilege is in itself a genuine achievement.

While it may be some time before people outside of New York are able to see the play, they can at least have the satisfaction of reading the drama in printed form. (Published by Farrar and Rinehart. Through The World Tomorrow Book Shop, \$2.00 postpaid.)

R. N.

WE RECOMMEND

An Anthology of American Negro Literature, edited by V. F. Calverton. The Modern Library. 535 pages. 95 cents. The collection includes fiction, drama, poetry, literary, historical, and sociological essays, and autobiography. The source of the various contributions is only occasionally indicated.

The Jews in the Christian Era, by Laurie Magnus. Dutton. 422 pages. \$5.00. This book will serve as an introduction to an important subject to those whose knowledge of Judaism ends with the New Testament and Josephus. It closes with Moses Mendelssohn in the eighteenth century.

Fifth Avenue, by Fred Rothermell. Harcourt, Brace. 299 pages. \$3.00. It takes millions of people to make up our monster cities. Their very multitude tends to obscure the life of the individual, at once tragic and comic, successful and futile, petty and exalted, sordid and sublime. There will always be a place for books like this, the twenty-eight sketches of which deal with life in the retail in New York City.

Who's Obscene?, by Mary Ware Dennett. Vanguard Press. \$2.00. A complete record of the Dennett trial, together with the text on sex which prompted the government prosecution. It is an interesting document which raises many important issues, but one has the impression that the author would have done better to reduce the material to smaller proportions. It does not quite make a book.

The Wave, by Evelyn Scott. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 625 pages. \$2.50. A magnificent work which by a bold original device departs from straight narrative and through a series of sketches gives a remarkably vivid and memorable picture of Civil War America. Officers, troopers, home folks, politicians—the people who make events and whom events order around are her concern. Really superb!

Against the Wall, by Kathleen Millay. Macaulay. 441 pages. \$2.50. The "wall" is Matthew College, thinly disguised counter part of one of the well known Eastern colleges for women. Not many serious fictional studies of women's colleges have been written, and for that reason this book is worth reading. It is, however, neither great literature nor a fair picture of college life. Few readers, whether they are alumnae of a women's college or not, would have much sympathy with or patience for Rebecca, the priggish heroine.

Jesus of Nazareth, told by Agnes Adams, with illustrations by W. H. Margetson. Oxford University Press. 96 pages. \$2.00. Some day a writer of vision and a publisher of courage will bring out, for children, a critical story of the Nazarene, leaving out superstition and surmise and treating Jesus with the reverence of actual knowledge and poetic insight instead of traditionally. Meantime, we must continue our intellectual dishonesty and give growing boys and girls traditional stories they will one day resent because of what they must unlearn. The next best thing to honesty is using a book like this one, intelligently printed and pictured, which really does have interest for the young child, and definitely suggest that portions of it are probably legendary.

Wings over Europe, by Robert Nichols and Maurice Browne. Covici-Friede. 172 pages. \$2.00. A provocative play produced last year by the Theatre Guild of New York, dealing with the political effects of the break-up of the atom.

The Recovery of Germany, by James W. Angell. Yale University Press. 425 pages. \$4.00. There is no doubt that the last six years have worked a miracle in Germany. German economic life has, with several important exceptions, regained or more than regained the pre-war levels. But the enormous cost of this recovery must not be forgotten. It was achieved largely by "foreign investments" on the one hand, and "rationalization of industry" on the other. In other words, Germany has had to sell out to the "economic imperialists" of other countries and German labor paid in blood and sweat. The reparations costs are an important item in this accounting. By contrast the Russian recovery is all the more significant and helps greatly to interpret the attitude of world capitalism to both countries.

A Correction

IN the review entitled "Defending Mother India," by F. V. Slack, which appeared in our May issue, Ernest Wood, author of *An Englishman Defends Mother India*, was described as a member of the English Society of Friends and a missionary to India. This is, of course, a mistake. The person thus referred to was John S. Hoyland, author of *The Case for India*, the second book under consideration. We sincerely regret this error.

THE EDITORS

CORRESPONDENCE

Hull House's Fortieth Birthday

OLD and new Hull House days mingled in happy symphony at the fortieth anniversary celebration of the Chicago settlement, May 9th, 10th, and 11th. Old residents came home, three hundred strong, to find in Miss Jane Addams the same gracious hostess and sympathetic companion they had known when they lived there, and to see a new generation of Hull House neighbors—Italians, Mexicans, Greeks, and Gypsies, and those of many other nationalities—finding in the settlement a happy field for the development of their cultural, educational, and social tendencies.

Dr. John Dewey, of Columbia University, and Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, of Chicago, both of them early trustees of Hull House, a capacity in which Mrs. Bowen still serves the settlement, were there, to see the flowering of forty years of this attempt to "add the social function to democracy," as Miss Addams expressed it. Gerard Swope, president of General Electric Company; B. E. Hutchinson, vice-president of Chrysler Motors; Walter Gifford, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; Chauncey McCormick, Richard Crane III—the list of preëminent American business men and women who came home to Hull House runs up to about fifty. Mr. Swope was one of the speakers on the program, along with Dr. Dewey, Mrs. Bowen, Julia C. Lathrop, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. Arthur Todd, professor of sociology at Northwestern University, Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumer's League, Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, Massachusetts state inspector of factories, Edith Abbott, dean of the School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Judge A. A. Bruce, of the Northwestern University Law School, and William Chenery, editor of *Colliers' Weekly*.

Neighborhood children performed the folk dances they had learned in Saturday afternoon settlement classes. Music school pupils gave a concert in Bowen Hall, and assisted the Woman's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago in the musicale Sunday afternoon. Thousands of visitors came to see the display of etchings, paintings, woodcraft, pottery, spinning and photography—all the work of children and adults who have attended settlement classes in skilled trades and fine arts.

Foreign-born groups from within a two-mile radius of the settlement came to offer entertainment and assistance in hospitality to Miss Addams. Joska Kiss and his Gypsy orchestra played native dance tunes and melodies at the dance the opening night of the celebration. During the afternoon the Italian Mothers' Club served tea to all visitors. The Greek Olympics and Mexican Cuahatomacs, among the Boys' Clubs, conducted guests through the exhibits on Sunday afternoon and evening.

The homecomers saw Hull House in the light of its past and present. Some of them, remembering times when the first neighbors to witness the establishment of this new institution were puzzled by its significance, looked with gratification upon the hundreds of families now finding the most vital interest of their out-of-home lives there, taking it for granted as a pleasant part of the ordained order of things. They read the future of the settlement more clearly in the faces of the newest generation of its neighbors than in any discussion which arose during the three days' meet.

Chicago, Ill.

GEORGE HAWLEY EMANUEL

Racketeering

I WOULD like to appeal to readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW for help in a coöperative study of racketeering in the United States. The League for Industrial Democracy has chosen as the subject for its June conference this year, "Racketeering High and Low—The Folly of Work," and has asked me to serve as collector of material with a view ultimately of publishing a rather ambitious book that would summarize the worst abuses of our industrial system. We are looking for important facts about racketeering in the power industry, real estate, financial organization, marketing, advertising, insurance, manufacture and labor unionism. We also want facts concerning the more obvious forms of racketeering practiced by gangsters, and concerning legal, political, and medical rackets.

Our plan in making this study is to get progressives in all parts of the United States to send in information concerning instances in which they know of some persons or corporations capturing part of our economic resources and machinery and using their position of vantage to extract personal gain without commensurate service. Readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW who have knowledge of specific rackets or who are willing to do some research in this field are asked to write me at 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

New York City

PAUL BLANSHARD

An Invitation

LANO Coöperative Colony celebrated May Day by burning all the old mortgages on its properties and by feasting its friends and members on good, old-fashioned Southern cooking. Readers of THE WORLD TOMORROW who may chance to be in our neighborhood are invited to pay us a visit. They will see a community without churches, jails, policemen, or bootleggers, but with schools, gardens, farms and industrial plants—created by workers for workers. All of which I feel sure you will agree is worth seeing and worth rejoicing in, especially in these times of "profitless prosperity."

Newllano, La.

COVINGTON HALL

Bishop Jones Goes to Antioch

BISHOP PAUL JONES, whose biographical sketch appeared in the April issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW has accepted the invitation extended him by Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, to join its faculty as religious adviser to the student body.

Antioch, advocate and exemplar of freedom and progress in modern higher education, is a fitting field for the extension of Bishop Jones' teaching of a "Christian Social Gospel." To the Antioch standard are coming each year some 650 carefully selected young men and women from every part of America who, in their turn, go out into the world of industry and profession to spread the Antioch doctrine of well-balanced living. Reorganized in 1921 under Arthur E. Morgan, an engineer with an educational dream, the college has stood preëminently for the development of proportion and balance both in the lives of its students and its own program of studies. A coöperative plan of alternating industrial and professional work with classroom work in five-week periods is one of the ways in which the ideal is being achieved. Such a system, Antioch believes, not only serves as a vocation-finding and training process, but also as a distinct contribution to a liberal education in self-reliance, judgment, and initiative, and in social and economic knowledge.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

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Subject: **THE FOLLY OF WORK
RACKETEERING HIGH AND LOW**

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Among the subjects are: Gangs and Gangsters, Private Rights in Public Business, the High Cost of Ballyhoo, the Labor Racketeer, Pyramiding Land Values, the Folly of Work.

For further information, address

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street, New York City.

AFTER WAR, WHAT IS THE WORLD'S GREATEST MENACE?

A gigantic and deadly narcotic menace is upon our country and the world. It is estimated that 75,000 girls from all walks of life disappeared last year, an increase of 50% in the estimate for the previous year. READ

CONSEQUENCES

By Julia Ellsworth Ford

Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

"The book is essentially timely in view of the whirlwind which Great Britain is now reaping in India after centuries of sowing the wind."—*The New Republic*.

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In accordance with its ideal of proportionate development, Radburn seeks to promote a spirit of freedom and of serious, intelligent inquiry into religious matters. No person can live a complete and well-balanced life who is not interested in discovering its possible significance. Yet most young people meet serious conflict between the authority of traditional beliefs and the necessity of fitting aspirations into harmony with increasing knowledge. The need of specialized guidance in this field has been keenly felt during the past few years. It is in the capacity, therefore, of personal counsellor as well as of college pastor that Bishop Jones is to act. He will teach courses in the "History of Religion" and in "Life Problems" and will likewise have charge of the weekly vespers service.

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The Last Page

KAISER WILHELM VON HOHENZOLLERN, so the press reports, has been indulging in his favorite hobby, biblical research, and as a result has announced to a palpitating universe that the centurion whose faith won praise from Jesus at Capernaum was a German. "Thus," says Wilhelm, "the situation at Capernaum reveals the soldier in exemplary relation to the Lord. That must fill us old soldiers with joy and pride. . . . Under the Cross we discover a German halting on horseback. He is the first who, overwhelmed by the greatness of the suffering Saviour, delivers the powerful confession, 'Verily, this was a righteous man, the Son of God.' The intercession of the crucified Lord, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' is not intended for the Jewish leaders but for the poor legionaries who, acting under the orders of their superiors, must inflict dire suffering upon the Lord. We old soldiers may well feel proud of this intercession of the Lord. Today we are thinking of those who fell. They marched to the battlefield praying, trusting in the righteousness of their cause. True to their oath, they died for the Kaiser and the Reich, for German fame and honor. We owe it to them to assert all our strength to retain that for which they died. We promise to do that in unshakable faith and with our eyes fastened upon the Saviour of the world who once prayed also for German soldiers."

Now, you simply have to hand it to Wilhelm. It takes a man of great learning to dope out all this. But what amazes me is his modesty. Wasn't, maybe, Jesus also after all a German?

* * *

VERILY, nationalism is a strange disease. Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes tells of a Pole who would not go out of his country without a pillow full of earth from his native land, so that wherever he went, he always slept with his head on Polish soil. Ha, but that isn't all. I once heard of an Eskimo who did the same thing with a cake of native ice, and when it melted away he grew so sad he could do nothing but eat whale oil and blubber. Sad, sad!

Once, too, there was an American aviator bent on a perilous flight. He carried a pneumatic cushion, and every time his courage ebbed, he deflated it a little and breathed the air of his native land. Whereupon he was immediately restored in vigor and won through to his goal. I hope my readers will recite this tale to all their local patriots—I am sure the latter will believe it.

* * *

SPEAKING of patriots, I hail the Patriot Youth of America, one of our latest gifts to the gaiety of nations. This appears to be an aggregation of desperate fatherland-savers, whose advisory board is composed of Major Pelham St. George Bissell, Brigadier General Oliver B. Bridgeman, Brigadier General James J. Byrne, Colonel William Graves Bates, and Commander William Seaman Bainbridge. They issue a little four-page monthly journal called *Patriot Youth*, which they will gladly sell you (and I don't blame 'em) for five dollars a year. [Adv.-read THE WORLD TOMORROW and get your money's worth.]

The general tone and dignity of this journal is full of exuberance and fun. For anybody as horribly frightened as the editors, they put up a brave front. They have discovered that Europe is

saturated with red intrigue, that "Soviet Maniacs Murder Priests in War on God," that there has been a "Giant Red Conspiracy Exposed." They inveigh against the tolerance of "the press"—dear, dear, can they by any chance include Eccentricus? The very thought makes me grow pink behind the ears—even trifle pink above them.

But hold—my pulse quickens! Here is the voice of authority. When Eccentricus denounces the Soviet tyrannies—as he frequently does, being one of the finest denouncers that ever lived on a farm—he doesn't carry weight.

From the sacred, illumined scroll of *The Saturday Evening Post* the editors quote horrendous anti-Soviet warnings by an expert in the salvation of democracy. This, my fellow one hundred per cent Americans, is none other than Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, friend and biographer of the Kaiser, apologist for Germany in the late war, and defender of Kultur. And now the generals and commanders and whatnot have joined hands with Mr. Viereck. Isn't that the calm after the storm, brotherhood after dissension, peace after conflict, the triumph of love over evil?

And this appeal to youth to save mankind from the red peril of being sent wholesale to seniors in American colleges, in the hope that a great movement of youth will arise in defense of patriotic Germans, Americans, all, are one in militarism. The lion shall lie with the lamb, and a little youth shall kid them—I may have the expression mixed, but I'm sure you get my meaning.

* * *

FROM the bulletin of the National Council for Prevention of War: "The London Conference was initiated by President Hoover because of the universal longing for arms reduction and world peace. . . . It has not secured the reduction hoped for by the Administration or by our people. Nevertheless, as another application of the conference method to international problems, is an important step forward."

From the bulletin of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches: "Before listing the gains of the present conference, we would like to remark that this conference on disarmament has so far been no exception to the rule that as far as any drastic reduction in present world armament is concerned. The Czar Nicholas called the first Hague Conference for the purpose of limiting and reducing armament. The conference ended in an increase of armament. So did the Second Hague Conference called in 1907. So did the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament in 1921-22. So did the Geneva Naval Conference in 1927. So have the meetings of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament of the League of Nations."

I guess what we'll have to do is, possibly, what a boy did who said he was late for school because it was so slippery that every time he took a step ahead he slid back two. When challenged by a skeptical teacher to reveal how he got to school at all, he explained that finally he had caught on and started for home. Maybe if we pacifists all went out and shouted for a naval increase, the brainy men who suspect our wisdom would be startled into peaceful ways, just to be contrary. Though, as a matter of fact, there is nothing new in peace advocates doing exactly that.

ECCENTRICUS.



"World wide chaos, and there, across the courtyard, the next generation drilling, marching, marching! Will nothing stop it? Shall we never learn? Must we go on, to the end of time, with bands and banners flying, marching, marching, over our heaped-up dead, into new futility, new agony, horror, and destruction? God—! Close that window! I want to shut it out!"

CHANNING POLLOCK—American Dramatist.

from N. Y. Herald Tribune.

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